# The Old Testament in Byzantium

*Edited by* Paul Magdalino *and* Robert Nelson

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# Psalters and Personal Piety in Byzantium

Georgi R. Parpulov

> Even dead, he is seen here gathering round himself those who are still living. He has just expired. Men as if half-dead (alive but extremely emaciated) are approaching from various directions to perform the funeral rites for the deceased. . . . Do not be surprised by their multitude. In those times the desert resembled a city: you can see small dwellings all over the rocks with some of the hermits showing from within, perhaps unable to descend the precipices or waiting for those who will carry them. The one who has lowered from his tower a basket in which to pull up food is surely unable to come down, having settled so far from everything. And the one who is sitting in meditation (*ἐπὶ συννοίας*) and has just stopped writing seems to be lamenting and chanting on the occasion [of the funeral].[1]

I thank Prof. Robert S. Nelson for his invitation to participate in the Dumbarton Oaks symposium on "The Old Testament in Byzantium"; the staffs of the Walters Art Museum library, of the Knott Library at Saint Mary's Seminary and University, and of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library for their helpfulness; Dr. Audrey Scanlan-Teller and Prof. Alice-Mary Talbot for critically reading this article; the National Library of Greece, the Biblioteca Reale di Torino, and the Bibliothèque nationale de France for allowing me to publish images of manuscripts they own.

1 Καὶ νεκρόν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα ἰδεῖν τοὺς ἔτι ζῶντας ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν συγκινοῦντα. ἄρτι μὲν ἐπέλιπε τούτῳ τὸ ζῆν. οἱ δ᾽ ἡμιθνῆτες οἱ πλείους καὶ τοῦ βίου λείψανα, φοιτῶσιν ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοι, τῷ κειμένῳ τελέσοντες τὴν ὁσίαν . . . τὸ δὲ πλῆθος αὐτῶν, μὴ θαυμάσῃς. πόλιν γὰρ ἡ ἔρημος ὑπεκρίνετο τὰ εἰς ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους καὶ οἰκίδια πανταχῆ τῶν πετρῶν ὁρᾶν ἔχεις καὶ τῶν ἀπολειφθέντων ἐνίους ὑπερκύπτοντας τῶν μυχῶν ἤπου τυχὸν οὐ δυναμένους κατιέναι τῶν ἀποτόμων, ἢ προσδεχομένους τοὺς οἴσοντας. ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου καθιεὶς τὸν τάλαρον οὗτος, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ τὴν τροφὴν ἀνιμήσασθαι, μαρτύρεται δήπουθεν, ὡς ἀδύνατά ἐστιν αὐτῷ κατελθεῖν, οὕτω πανταχόθεν ἀνῳκοδομημένῳ. καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ συννοίας οὑτοσὶ καθήμενος, ἄρτι τοῦ γράφειν ἀνενεγκὼν, ὀλοφύρεσθαι ἔοικε καὶ ᾠδὴν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν συμφοράν. John (actually Mark) Eugenikos, *Ekphrasis* 3; ed. C. L. Kayser, *Philostrati libri de gymnastica quae supersunt: Accedunt Marci Eugenici imagines et epistolae nondum editae* (Heidelberg, 1840), 142–44; cf. A. Muñoz, "Le ἐκφράσεις nella letteratura bizantina e i loro rapporti con l'arte figurata,"

The image of Saint Ephraem's Dormition which Mark Eugenikos (d. 1445) describes could not have differed much from the several uniform representations of this scene that survive from the fifteenth century.[2] Nonetheless, although Eugenikos is at pains to emphasize that even those hermits not present at the funeral are participating in it from a distance, in the actual paintings they hardly seem aware of the event. While the novice standing next to the saint's bier is intoning a funerary *sticheron*,[3] the young monk in the cave above has just penned the first words of a Psalter, Psalm 1:1. One might have assumed that the text is being dictated to him, had the elder anchorite seated opposite not had his volume open to a different passage, Psalm 6:1 or 38 (37):1. Just like the inhabitants of the other rock dwellings around them, the two recluses are absorbed in their solitary pursuits. The paintings' background presents, in fact, a panorama of a hermit's daily routine: some monks are seen working with their hands (carving wooden spoons, weaving baskets, copying books), others are engaged in psalmody and prayer. It is recluses like these that John of Gaza (fl. ca. 530) advises:

> [D]o not bind yourself with strict rules, but do whatever the Lord gives you the strength to do. And do not neglect your reading and prayer; little by little, you will gradually spend the day pleasing God. For our perfect fathers were not limited by any particular rule. Indeed, their daily rule included singing Psalms a little, repeating by heart (ἀποστηθίζειν) a little, examining their thoughts a little, working for a living (σχολάζειν περὶ τὴν τροφὴν) a little, and [all] this with fear of God. For it is said: "Whatever you do, do everything for the glory of God."[4]

in *Recueil d'études, dédiées à la mémoire de N. P. Kondakov* (Prague, 1926), 139–42, esp. 140. Translations, unless otherwise noted, are my own.

2 See the color illustrations in: K. Weitzmann et al., *The Icon* (New York, 1982), 320; H. Evans, ed., *Byzantium: Faith and Power, 1261–1557* (New York, 2004), 158; *Le Mont Athos et l'Empire byzantin: Trésors de la Sainte Montagne* (Paris, 2009), 214–15. On the scene's iconography: J. R. Martin, "The *Death of Ephraim* in Byzantine and Early Italian Painting," *ArtB* 33 (1951): 217–25; M. Chatzidakis, "Les débuts de l'école crétoise et la question de l'école dite italogrecque," in *In memoria di Sofia Antoniadis* (Venice, 1974), 169–211, pls. 7–34, esp. 189–94, pls. 22–25; repr. in *Études sur la peinture postbyzantine* (London, 1976), no. iv; M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, "Ἡ Κοίμηση τοῦ Ὁσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου σὲ μία πρώιμη κρητική εἰκόνα τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Μουσείου Ἀθηνῶν," in *Εὐφρόσυνον: Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη*, ed. E. Kyprianou, 2 vols. (Athens, 1991–92), 1:41–56, pls. A, 1–8.

3 Δεῦτε τελευταῖον ἀσπασμὸν δῶμεν, ἀδελφοί, τῷ θανόντι, εὐχαριστοῦντες Θεῷ, etc.: E. Follieri, *Initia hymnorum ecclesiae graecae*, 5 vols., ST 211–15 (Vatican City, 1960–66), 1:296, with bibl.; trans. I. F. Hapgood, *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church*, 2nd rev. ed. (New York, 1922), 389, 420.

4 *CPG* 7350, Barsanouphios and John, *Questions and Answers* 85 (ed. F. Neyt and P. de Angelis-Noah, SC 427:374); trans. (here slightly modified) J. Chryssavgis, *Barsanuphius and John: Letters*,

Eight centuries later, at the time of Gregory of Sinai (d. 1346?), this simple regimen has hardly changed: "The solitary (ἡσυχάζων) should first of all have as the basis of his activity (ἐργασία) these five virtues: silence, temperance, vigilance, humility, patient endurance; and his God-pleasing activities should be three: psalmody, prayer, reading, plus (if he is weak) handiwork."[5] Gregory's disciple Philotheos Kokkinos (d. ca. 1376) explains private psalmody in greater detail:

> For a zealous person, the true service to God (I mean psalmody, prayer, and reading the divine Scriptures) is not limited by rules or hours. "I will bless the Lord at all times," says [David]. . . . If you are accustomed to chanting the Hours not in church but in the cell, say the usual initial prayer and chant Terce and Sext with the Typika plus (in winter, because the day then is short) one *kathisma* from the Psalter or (when the days are longer) two *kathismata*. For I want you to recite the [whole] Psalter in your cell once every week at all times, be it Lent or not. For this reason, when you say one kathisma in the morning (because, as explained, of the shortness of the day), say two in the evening at Compline (because the night is long), and in the other season, when the proportion of day to night changes, do the reverse. When you happen to chant the Hours in church, then in the cell immediately after the initial prayer and the "O come, let us worship"[6] say Psalm 50 and start the recitation of the Psalter. . . .[7]

In 1946, a Benedictine visitor to the Lavra of Saint Sabas near Jerusalem reports: "As for private prayer, it consists primarily of reading the Psalter. Each monk ought to recite, in addition to the psalms read in church, at least one *kathisma* a day. This form of devotion is highly recommended and practiced more widely than daily reading of the complete Psalter."[8]

2 vols. (Washington, DC, 2006), 1:107f. Further examples from early monastic sources: A. Davril, "La psalmodie chez les pères du désert," *Collectanea cisterciensia* 49 (1987): 132–39. L. Dysinger, *Psalmody and Prayer in the Writings of Evagrius Ponticus* (Oxford, 2005), 48–61.

5 Gregory of Sinai, *Most Beneficial Chapters in Acrostic* 99 (PG 150:1272).

6 *The Great Horologion or Book of Hours*, trans. Holy Transfiguration Monastery (Boston, 1997), 22 et passim.

7 Philotheos Kokkinos, *Πρός τινα τῶν σπουδαίων ἀδελφῶν αἰτήσαντα πῶς δεῖ διάγειν ἐν τῷ κελλίῳ*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. T.4.4, s. XV, fols. 398r–405v, esp. 399r, 401r–v, ed. G. R. Parpulov, "Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2004), 495–505, esp. 496, 499f; Italian trans. (from Vatic. gr. 663, fols. 223r–229v) A. Rigo, *L'amore della quiete (ho tes hesychias eros): L'esicasmo bizantino tra il XIII e il XIV secolo* (Magnano, 1993), 175–80.

8 E. Mercenier, "Le monastère du Mar Saba," *Irénikon* 20 (1947): 283–97, esp. 293. I owe this reference to Dr. Stig R. Frøyshov.

Psalmody, then, is part and parcel of the ascetic life and belongs to the meditation (σύννοια) of hermits. And not only monks practice it in Byzantium. Philotheos Kokkinos recounts how even as a child the future saint Germanos (d. ca. 1336) would secretly imitate the pious observances of his father, a tax collector, and "in solitude (ἡσυχία) talk solely to God, holding in [his] hands the sacred book of Psalms."[9] In the eleventh century the retired general Kekaumenos advised his son, "If you can, pray also at midnight by saying at least one psalm, for at this hour one can speak to God without distraction."[10] Emperor Nikephoros Phokas (d. 969) regularly "spent the whole night without sleep, in prayer and psalmody, holding the Psalter and reading [from it]."[11]

Originally composed in Hebrew as hymns and prayers and generally recognized as inspired by the Holy Spirit,[12] the Psalms form the backbone of personal devotions. "In effect," Paul Bradshaw concludes, "the hymn book of the secular church became the prayer book of monasticism."[13] "O Lord, rebuke me not in thy wrath" reads the verse in the monk's open volume on icons of the Dormition of Saint Ephraem, expressing in the psalmist's words the old man's own contrition. "My son," confides the Egyptian *abba* Philemon, "God has impressed the power of the psalms on my poor soul as He did on the soul of the prophet David."[14] A distich in a ninth-century Psalter succinctly identifies this intimate bond between reader and text: "This book is proper to every devout human being, and the divine David speaks in common for all of mankind."[15] Athanasios of Alexandria makes the point at length:

9 *BHG* 2164, Philotheos Kokkinos, *Life of St. Germanos Maroules* 6, ed. P. Ioannou, "Vie de St. Germain l'Hagiorite par son contemporain le Patriarche Philothée de Constantinople," *AB* 70 (1952): 35–115, esp. 59.

10 Kekaumenos, *Strategikon* 36; ed. G. G. Litavrin, *Sovety i rasskazy: Pouchenie vizatiiskogo polkovodtsa XI veka* (Saint Petersburg, 2003), 210.

11 [Continuator of] George the Monk, *Chronicle* 6 (PG 110:1208D).

12 E.g., *CPG* 2093, Athanasios of Alexandria, *Orations against the Arians* 2.50 (PG 26:253B): τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, διὰ τῶν ψαλμῶν λέγον.

13 P. F. Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer in the Early Church* (New York, 1982), 94.

14 *BHG* 2368, ed. Makarios of Corinth and Nikodemos Hagiorites, *Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν*, 5 vols., 3rd ed. (Athens, 1957–63), 2:244; trans. G. E. H. Palmer, P. Sherrard, and K. Ware, *The Philokalia: The Complete Text*, 5 vols. (London, 1979–), 2:347.

15 Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS gr. 216, fol. 347r, reproduced lithographically in V. K. Ernshtedt, "Iz Porfirievskoi Psaltiri 862 goda," *ZhMNP* 236 (1884): 23–35, esp. 34bis with fig. 2: Ἑκάστου ἀνδρὸς εὐσεβοῦς ἴδιον τὸ βιβλίον / Καὶ στόμα κοινὸν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ὁ θεῖος Δαυΐδ. Cf. also the four poems printed and translated in E. T. De Wald, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*, vol. 3, *Psalms and Odes*, part 2, *Vaticanus Graecus 752* (Princeton, 1942), xii (where the word ἄλλα in line 12 is a title, not part of the verse!). For a florilegium of Byzantine Psalter epigrams see Parpulov, "Byzantine Psalters" (n. 7 above), 361–95.

> But the marvel with reference to the Psalms is this: beyond the prophecies concerning the Savior and the nations, the one saying the other things is speaking as in his own words, and each person sings them as if written concerning himself and relates them not as if another were speaking and not as if they signified another. . . . I think that these words become like a mirror to the singer for him to be able to understand in them the emotions of his own soul and thus perceiving them to explain them.[16]

Athanasios's text, complete or in excerpts, is found as a preface in a number of Greek Psalters.[17] Either he or an author writing under his name advises an anonymous nun: "Night or day, the word of God should never be absent from your mouth. Your work should be continuous reciting (μελέτη) of the sacred Scriptures.[18] Have a Psalter and learn the Psalms. Let the book be seen in your hands at sunrise."[19]

By contrast with public worship, which is structured according to established rules and based on special liturgical books, private psalmody is "not limited by rules or hours."[20] Byzantine manuscripts of the Psalter are the physical remains of such pious observances. Very few of the medieval Psalters now preserved appear to have been read in church.[21] One clearly meant for liturgical use is mentioned in the late eleventh-century inventory of the Monastery of Christ the All-Merciful in Constantinople: "Another book, containing a *Kontakarion* and Psalter, as well as the verses preceded by Alleluias."[22] Three Psalters, one of them with a decorated binding, appear among the liturgical volumes in a list of the books owned in 1200 by the Monastery of Saint John on Patmos.[23] In a Sinai manuscript, the

16 *CPG* 2097, Athanasios of Alexandria, *Letter to Marcellinus* 11–12 (PG 27:24); trans. E. Ferguson, "Athanasius, *Epistula ad Marcellinum in interpretationem Psalmorum*," *Ἐκκ.Φάρ.* 60 (1978): 378–403, esp. 380f. See also John Cassian, *Collationes patrum* 10.11.

17 R. Sinkewicz, *Manuscript Listings for the Authors of the Patristic and Byzantine Periods* (Toronto, 1992), DTMPTR001:I18–K18.

18 On the meaning of μελέτη/*meditatio* in early monastic texts, see H. Bacht, *Das Vermächtnis des Ursprungs: Studien zum frühen Mönchtum*, 2 vols. (Würzburg, 1972–83), 1:244–64.

19 *CPG* 2248, Athanasios of Alexandria, *De virginitate* 12 (PG 28:265A; ed. E. von der Goltz, TU 29.2a, 46).

20 Philoth. Kokkinos (n. 7 above).

21 This and the following general observations about Byzantine Psalters are based on the 589 parchment manuscripts listed in Parpulov, "Byzantine Psalters," appendix B1. I have not systematically studied Psalters written on paper.

22 P. Gautier, "La diataxis de Michel Attaleiate," *REB* 39 (1981): 5–143, esp. 97; trans. A.-M. Talbot, in *BMFD* 1:359.

23 C. Astruc, "L'inventaire—dressé en septembre 1200—du Trésor et de la Bibliotheque de Patmos: Édition diplomatique," *TM* 8 (1981): 15–30, esp. 23: ψαλτήριον ἔχον εἰς τὸ ἓν μέρος ἀμυγδάλια δ', εἰς τὸ ἕτερον μέρος ἀμυγδάλια δ', βούλλας ς', καὶ κομβοθηλύκα δ', τὰ ἀμφότερα ἀργυρᾶ—ψαλτήρια στιχολογίας β'.

Psalter forms a liturgical collection together with an *Oktoechos*, a *Menaion*, and a *Triodion*. In a codex in the Athonite Lavra, it is followed by a Triodion and a Menaion; in one in Vatopedi, by a Triodion and a *Parakletike*; in one in Istanbul, by a Menaion; in one in Paris, by a Parakletike and a Menaion; and finally, in one in Saint Petersburg it is preceded by a Triodion.[24] The text in all these manuscripts is densely written on large pages in two columns of small characters. None contains musical notation. Out of some six hundred books studied, these six are the only Psalters that can be properly called "liturgical." Service books, because of their constant use, do not stand a good chance of survival, which probably explains their slight representation among extant Psalters. It is also likely that many lectors knew the Psalms by heart and did not need a written text to recite them. In short, although the Psalms have always been widely employed in communal, ecclesiastic worship, practically all surviving Byzantine Psalters were copied for personal rather than liturgical use.

Regarding prayer with the Psalms, a further distinction is to be made, that is, between reading aimed at comprehending the theological meaning of the Psalms and their devotional recitation as an act of prayer. These two approaches to the text correspond to two types of books, those in which the Psalms are accompanied by commentary, and those in which they are copied on their own. Psalters with various types of commentary, including *catenae* and short *scholia*, make up 35 percent of the total of surviving manuscripts.[25] The distinction between the two groups is not absolute. On the one hand, many plain-text Psalters contain exegetical prefaces derived from complete commentaries on the Psalms.[26] On the other, volumes that have a limited amount of gloss in the margin (where it does not interfere with viewing the biblical text)[27] can easily be used for devotion. Psalters with more extensive commentary, however, are bulky and correspondingly expensive; they are thus more likely to have belonged to institutional rather than personal libraries. Two mighty twin Psalters now in Paris and Venice that have the same marginal *catena* and, page by page, the same layout, were certainly imperial commissions, although their original owners are unknown (in the early fifteenth century, the Venice copy belonged to a Monastery of the Virgin

24 Sinai, MS gr. 550, s. XIV ineunte; Athos, MS Lavra Δ 45, s. XII; ibid., MS Vatopedi 625, s. XII; Istanbul, Ecumenical Patriarchate, MS Kamariotissa 3, s. XII exeunte; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS gr. 13, s. XII–XIII; Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS gr. 229, s. XIII ineunte.

25 I.e., 210 out of the 589 MSS listed by Parpulov (n. 21 above).

26 For a catalogue of Greek Psalter prefaces see Parpulov, "Byzantine Psalters," 256–99.

27 As opposed to manuscripts where Scripture and commentary alternate in a single block of text.

*Peribleptos*).[28] One of the first books that Saint Athanasios's disciple John copied for the newly founded Athonite Lavra was a large catena Psalter.[29] The Patmos inventory lists six Psalters with commentary as opposed to just two "booklets" (one βιβλιδόπουλον and one βιβλιδάριον) with plain Psalms text.[30]

The two monks in the background of Saint Ephraem's Dormition hold similar small volumes—the "prayer book of monasticism" rather than "the hymn book of the secular church."[31] Such Psalters are clearly meant not for studying the text but for praying with it. "As for prayer and chanting the Psalms, it should be done not only with the intellect but also with one's lips. For the prophet David says: 'Lord, you shall open my lips, and my mouth shall declare your praise,'" advises John of Gaza.[32] Indeed, Peter Damaskenos (fl. ca. 1156) conceives of psalmody in markedly somatic terms: "The fourth form of discipline [after stillness, fasting, and vigils] consists in the recital of psalms—that is to say, in prayer expressed in a bodily way through psalms and prostrations. This is in order to gall the body and humble the soul."[33] By way of such recitation the divinely inspired verses affect the innermost center of one's being: "When through continuous prayer the words of the psalms are brought down into the heart, then the heart like good soil begins to produce by itself various flowers. . . ."[34] It is for

28 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS grec 139 (the "Paris Psalter"), s. X medio: R. Cormack and M. Vassilaki, eds., *Byzantium 330–1453* (London, 2009), 395: cat. 60 (with bibl.). Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS gr. 17 (the "Psalter of Basil II"), s. X exeunte–XI ineunte: S. Gentile, ed. *Oriente cristiano e santità: Figure e storie di santi tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente* (Milan, 1998), 156–58: cat. 7, with bibl.

29 Athos, MS Lavra Δ 70, a. 984: J. Irigoin, "Pour une étude des centres de copie byzantins (2)," *Scriptorium* 13 (1959): 177–209, esp. 196–200; E. Lamberz, "Die Handschriftenproduktion in den Athosklöstern bis 1453," in *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio: Atti del seminario di Erice*, ed. G. Cavallo, G. di Gregorio, and M. Maniaci, 2 vols. (Spoleto, 1991), 1:25–78, pls. i–xix, esp. 30–35, pls. i–iv. Description: Alexandros E. Lauriotes, "Ἀναγραφὴ τοῦ περιεχομένου χειρογράφου τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας ἐν Ἄθῳ," *Ἐκκ.Ἀλήθ.*, n.s., 2 (1886): 453–57, 504–7.

30 Astruc, "L'inventaire" (n. 23 above), 23f., 26, 29: ἄλλο βιβλίον, ἑρμηνεία τοῦ αὐτοῦ [τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου] ψαλτηρίου (probably the present-day Patmiacus 159)—βιβλίον ἕτερον, ψαλτῆρος ἐξήγησις ἀκριβεστάτη, ἑρμηνείας ἔχουσα πολλῶν πατέρων (Patm. 65?)—ἄλλο βιβλίον, ψαλτηρίου ἑρμηνείαν ἔχοντος τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου, τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, Φωτίου πατριάρχου καὶ ἑτέρων (Patm. 66?)—ἄλλο βιβλίον, ἑρμηνεία τοῦ ψαλτῆρος—ἕτερον, ψαλτήριον ἔχον τὰς ἑρμηνείας διὰ σχολίων—ἕτερον, τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου περὶ τῆς βίβλου τῶν ρν′ ψαλμῶν—ἕτερον, βιβλιδόπουλον ψαλτήριον—ἕτερον, βιβλιδάριον ψαλτήριον.

31 Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer* (n. 13 above).

32 Barsanouphios and John, *Questions and Answers* 165 (SC 427:564); trans. Chryssavgis, *Letters* (n. 4 above), 1:182.

33 Trans. Palmer, Sherrard, and Ware, *Philokalia*, 3:91; Greek text: Φιλοκαλία, 3:18 (both n. 14 above).

34 Elias Ekdikos (fl. ca. 1100), *Gnomic Anthology* 78 (PG 127:1164A–B); trans. Palmer, Sherrard, and Ware, *Philokalia*, 3:57.

this reason that the monastic fathers disapprove of singing: "My child, your saying the Psalms with melody (μετὰ ἤχου) is utmost arrogance and presumption. It means: 'I recite Psalms, my brother does not.' For singing makes the heart hard and insensate and does not let the soul attain contrition."[35]

Vocal psalmody need not be excessively long to produce its effects: "As for vespers, the Scetiotes recite twelve Psalms, at the end of each Psalm saying Alleluia instead of the doxology, and simply repeating one prayer. The same also happens at night: they recite twelve Psalms, but after these Psalms they sit down to their handiwork."[36] A list of the twenty-four psalms is preserved in several Psalters (Fig. 1).[37] A late eleventh-century manuscript in Paris contains their full text with troparia and a prayer after each.[38] Three more special Books of Hours of this kind, evidently recited by particularly zealous monks in their cells, survive from the Komnenian period.[39] The Patmian inventory lists among the

35 *BHG* 1450f (PO 8:180). See also *BHG* 2329b, ed. P. Wessely, "Die Musikanschauung des Abtes Pambo," *AnzWien* 89 (1952): 50–53 (from the Psalter Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS theol. gr. 177, s. XII med.), and *BHG* 1445n (see below, Appendix: no. 3, pp. 459–60). On musical performance of the Psalms in the Byzantine liturgy: C. Troelsgård, "Psalm: III. Byzantine Psalmody," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie, 2nd ed., 29 vols. (New York, 2000–2001), 20:463–66, with bibl.

36 Barsanouphios and John, *Questions and Answers* 143 (SC 427:520–22); trans. Chryssavgis, *Letters*, 1:167. On the twelve Psalms see also Palladios, *Lausiac History* 32, ed. F. Halkin, "L'Histoire Lausiaque et les Vies grecques de S. Pachôme," *AB* 48 (1930): 257–301, esp. 284, 291; Cassian, *De institutis coenobiorum* 2.4–6; with detailed discussion in S. R. Frøyshov, "L'Horologe 'géorgien' du Sinaiticus ibericus 34" (PhD diss., Université de Paris-Sorbonne—Institut Catholique de Paris—Institut de théologie orthodoxe Saint-Serge, 2003), 551–609. I thank Dr. Frøyshov for sending me a copy of his thesis.

37 Listed in Parpulov, "Byzantine Psalters" (n. 7 above), appendix C5; see also S. R. Frøyshov, "The Cathedral–Monastic Distinction Revisited: Part I: Was Egyptian Desert Liturgy a Pure Monastic Office?" *Studia Liturgica* 37 (2007), 198–216, esp. 208–13; idem, "Dvenadtsati Psalmov chin," in *Pravoslavnaiia entsiklopediia* (Moscow, 2000–), 14:232–34.

38 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS gr. 331, s. XI ex.; description: H.-L. Bordier, *Description des peintures et des autres ornements contenus dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1883), 184: cat. 62; text (with the troparia changed) in *Εἰκοσιτετράωρον Ὡρολόγιον*, ed. I. M. Phountoules, Κείμενα λειτουργικῆς 16 (Thessalonike, 1977).

39 Sinai, MS gr. 869, s. XII in. (originally appended to the Psalter Sinait. gr. 51); Athens, National Library, MS 15, s. XII in. (hours intercalated with the kathismata of a Psalter); Lesbos, Leimonos Monastery, MS 295, s. XII ex. On the Athens MS: R. S. Nelson, "Text and Image in a Byzantine Gospel Book in Istanbul, Ecumenical Patriarchate, Cod. 3" (PhD diss., New York University, 1978), 98–122, figs. 85–101; E. C. Constantinides, "The Tetraevangelion, Manuscript 93 of the Athens National Library," *ΔΧΑΕ*, ser. 4, 9 (1977–79): 185–215, pls. 61–86; repr. in *Images from the Byzantine Periphery: Studies in Iconography and Style* (Leiden, 2007), 1–39. On the Leimonos MS: P. L. Vocotopoulos, "I manoscritti bizantini illustrati della Moni Limonos di Lesbo," in *Bisanzio, la Grecia e l'Italia: Atti della giornata di studi sulla civiltà artistica bizantina in onore di Mara Bonfioli*, ed. A. Iacobini (Rome, 2003), 33–44, esp. 36f., 42–44. On both: I. M. Phountoules, *Ἡ εἰκοσιτετράωρος ἀκοίμητος δοξολογία* (Athens, 1963), 69–116, 123–30. Phountoules argues

parchment volumes one "twelve-hour *Horologion*."[40] It is unclear whether this was a modified version of the longer twenty-four-hour devotional *cursus* or a regular Book of Hours comprising Matins, Vespers, Compline, and Nocturns plus Prime, Terce, Sext, and None with their Mid-Hours (*mesoria*). Although the latter canonical hours belong to public ecclesiastic worship, Philotheos Kokkinos's letter indicates that they could also be recited in private.[41] Another patriarch of Constantinople, Luke Chrysoberges (d. 1170), advises an anonymous solitary monk: "Observe the same order of prayer as [ordinary] Christians do, namely, Nocturns, Matins, the Hours, Vespers, and Compline."[42] To a great extent these daily services consist of selected psalms.[43] Because of this, a number of manuscript Psalters are followed by a Horologion[44] and almost all (some commentary ones excepted) contain the Odes (Canticles) that together with the Psalms form the scriptural nucleus of the liturgy of Hours (e.g., Appendix, nos. 1–3).[45] Finally, a few manuscripts give the following prescription (Fig. 2): "The Psalms said as prayers are the following: Against despondent thoughts—Psalm 54, 53. Against lewd thoughts—Psalm 34, 37. Against rancorous thoughts—Psalm 30. Against captive thoughts—Psalm 12, 16. Against thoughts of forsakenness—Psalm 70, 72.

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that these Books of Hours correspond to the liturgical rule of the Monastery of the Sleepless Monks (Ἀκοίμητοι) in Constantinople.

40 Astruc, "L'inventaire" (n. 23 above), 28: βιβλίον ἄλλο τὸ δωδεκάωρον ὡρολόγιον.

41 N. 7 above.

42 Luke Chrysoberges, Πῶς ὀφεῖλει διάγειν ὁ μοναχὸς εἰς τὸ κελλίον αὐτοῦ, ed. Parpulov, "Byzantine Psalters" (n. 7 above), 494: Ἀκολουθίαν, ἣν ἔχουσιν οἱ χριστιανοί, ἔχε καὶ ἐσῦ· ἤ μεσονυκτικόν, ὄρθρον, ὥρας, ἑσπερινὸν καὶ ἀπόδειπνον. French summary: V. Grumel and J. Darrouzès, *Les regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1, *Les actes des patriarches*, 2nd rev. ed., 7 fascs. (Paris, 1972–), 2–3:536f.: no. 1106. See also Athanasios, *De virginitate* 12 (PG 28:265A–B; ed. Goltz, TU 29.2a, 46).

43 Listed in *The Psalter According to the Seventy of St. David, the Prophet and King: Together with the Nine Odes and an Interpretation How the Psalter Should Be Recited through the Whole Year*, trans. Holy Transfiguration Monastery (Boston, 1974), 295; cf. *Great Horologion* (n. 6 above), 21–234. On the origins and history of the Horologion: E. P. Diakovskii, *Posledovanie chasov i izobrazitel'nykh* (Kiev, 1913); N. Egender, "Introduction," in *La prière des Églises de rite byzantin: La prière des heures (Hōrologion)*, 2nd ed. (Chevetogne, 1975), 11–90, with bibl.; C. Lutzka, *Die Kleinen Horen des byzantinischen Stundengebets und ihre geschichtliche Entwicklung* (Münster, 2007).

44 The earliest example is Turin, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS B.VII.30, s. IX, fols. 139v–142v: S. Parenti, "Nota sul Salterio: Horologion del IX secolo Torino, Biblioteca Universitaria B. VII. 30," *BollGrott*, ser. 3, 4 (2007): 275–87; see also no. 3 in the Appendix below.

45 For a full list of these canticles, which are composed of biblical excerpts or centos plus the matutinal Great Doxology (Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, etc.) and the ancient vesperinal hymn Φῶς ἱλαρόν, see J. Mearns, *The Canticles of the Christian Church Eastern and Western in Early and Medieval Times* (Cambridge, 1914), 7–16; cf. *Great Horologion*, 78–94, 101–4, 188, 192, 204f., 212, 215f. *Psalter According to the Seventy*, 262–87. See also H. Schneider, "Die biblischen Oden seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert," *Biblica* 30 (1949): 239–72; A. S. Korakides, *Ἀρχαίοι ὕμνοι*, 2 vols. (Athens, 1979).

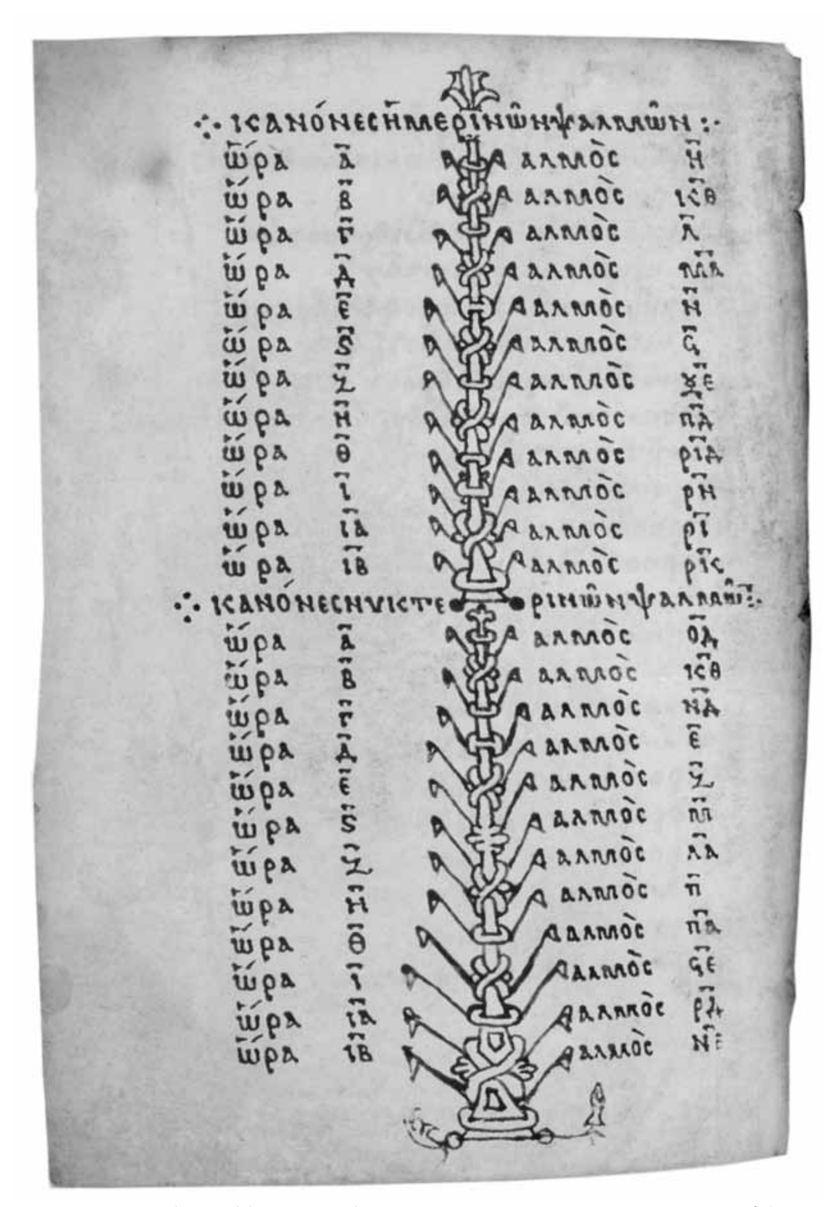


FIGURE 1 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS + 24 sup., ca. 900–950 CE, fol. 6v (Copyright Biblioteca Ambrosiana Auth. No. F 19/08)

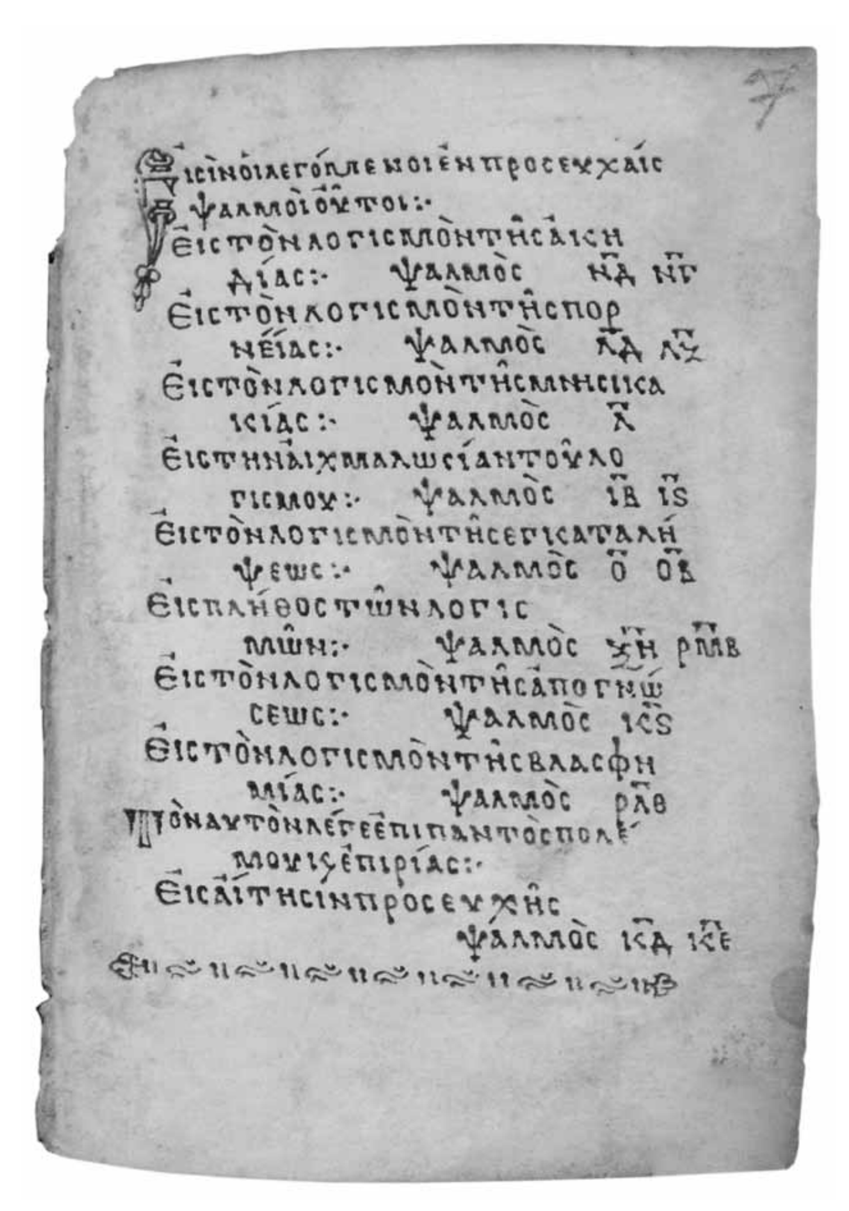



FIGURE 2 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS + 24 sup., ca. 900–950 CE, fol. 7r (Copyright Biblioteca Ambrosiana Auth. No. F 19/08)

Against multitudinous thoughts—Psalm 68, 142. Against thoughts of despair—Psalm 26. Against blasphemous thoughts—Psalm 139. Say the same Psalm [also] against any torment and difficulty (ἀπορία?). In want of prayer—Psalm 24, 25."[46] This belief in the beneficial power of psalms may also take a superstitious form: in the late eleventh century, some Psalters (e.g., Appendix, no. 2) start to be supplied with divinatory sentences, one for each psalm, that can be consulted by opening the volume at random.[47]

As opposed to such selective use of the Psalms, it is common, especially among monks, to recite them in their entirety. This is described, for example, in the story about Abba Serapion and the prostitute:

> One day Abba Serapion passed through an Egyptian village and there he saw a courtesan who stayed at her own cell. The old man said to her, "Expect me this evening, for I should like to come and spend the night with you." She replied, "Very well, abba." She got ready and made the bed. When evening came, the old man came to see her and entered her cell and said to her, "Have you got the bed ready?" She said, "Yes, abba." Then he closed the door and said to her, "Wait a bit, for we have a rule of prayer (νόμον ἔχομεν) and I must fulfill that first." So the old man began his prayers. He took the Psalter and at each Psalm he said a prayer for the courtesan, begging God that she might be converted and saved, and God heard him. . . . When he had completed the Psalter (ὡς ἐτέλεσεν ὁ γέρων ὅλον τὸ ψαλτήριον), the woman fell to the ground.[48]

Saying the 151 Psalms aloud takes about four hours. The text in most Byzantine Psalters is organized in accordance with such complete reading. It is divided into verses for easier recitation but never accompanied by any musical signs.[49] In manuscripts from the ninth to eleventh centuries, each verse forms a separate

46 Parpulov, "Byzantine Psalters" (n. 7 above), 268f. See Derek Krueger's further comments on this text in Chapter 8 of the present volume.

47 The earliest Psalter with such sentences is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms gr. 164, a. 1070. See in general P. Canart, "Un système byzantin de divination basé sur le Psautier: Sa diffusion dans les aires périphériques de l'oikouménè et sa traduction slave," *Godishnik na Sofiiskiia universitet, Tsentur za slaviano-vizantiiski prouchvaniia "Ivan Duichev,"* in press. I thank Prof. Canart for sending me a draft of his paper.

48 *BHG* 1618b (PG 65:416A; cf. ed. J.-C. Guy, SC 498:34); trans. B. Ward, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection* (Kalamazoo, 1979), 226; commentary: V. M. Lur'e, "Iz istorii chinoposledovaniia psalmopeniia: polnaia Psaltir' v ezhednevnom pravile (v sviazi s istoriei egipetskogo monashestva)," *VizVrem* 56 (1995): 228–37, esp. 229–34.

49 On the musical notation in Byzantine Gospel lectionaries: S. G. Engberg, "Ekphonetic Notation," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music*, 2nd ed., 8:47–51, with bibl.

paragraph (Fig. 3). Certain psalms are separated by the note "glory" (*doxa*); every third *doxa* is marked "session" (*kathisma*).[50] This rubrication is almost universally present (only Psalters with commentary are sometimes devoid of it) and is identical in all manuscripts, starting with the *Psalterium aureum Turicense*.[51] Unlike chapters, the twenty *kathismata* are numbered at their end (Fig. 3), since the reason for marking the division is not to help one find a passage but to measure the amount of text read.[52] *Doxai* are the ultimate punctuation marks, showing at which point one should pause in reciting psalms and say a doxology.[53] The earliest witness to this practice is John Cassian (d. ca. 435): "In the East [not every psalm but] only the antiphon[54] ends, as a rule, with this glorification of the Trinity ['gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui sancto']."[55] Peter Damaskenos describes such serial recitation:

> After praying in this way [with a long penitential prayer] you should immediately address your own thoughts and say three times: "O come, let us worship and fall down before God our King." Then you should begin the psalms, reciting the *Trisagion* after each subsection of the Psalter (ἀντίφωνον), and enclosing your intellect within the words you are saying. After the Trisagion say "Lord, have mercy" forty times, and then make a prostration and say once within yourself, "I have sinned, Lord, forgive me."

50 The earliest reference to this grouping of the Psalms is found in the seventh-century *Miracles* of St. Artemios, *BHG* 173, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra* (Saint Petersburg, 1909), 50: τῆς πνευματικῆς παννυχίδος ἐπιτελουμένης καὶ γενομένου τοῦ καθίσματος μετὰ τὰ τρία ἀντίφωνα τὰ ἑσπερινά (on *antiphons* see n. 54 below). Ps. 119 (118), the longest in the Psalter, is divided into three parts by the rubric στάσις (sometimes accompanied by δόξα). The third *stasis* is a *kathisma*. Cf. C. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis* (Lyon, 1688; repr. Graz, 1958), 1429, s.v. στάσεις; *BHG* 1438w, ed. A. Longo, "Il testo integrale della 'Narrazione degli abati Giovanni e Sofronio' attraverso le Ἑρμηνεῖαι di Nicone," *RSBN*, n.s., 2–3 (1965–66): 223–67, esp. 251f. (where, exceptionally, not Ps. 119 [118] but the entire Psalter is described as comprising three στάσεις).

51 E. Crisci, C. Eggenberger, R. Fuchs, and D. Oltrogge, "Il Salterio purpureo Zentralbibliothek Zürich, RP 1," *Segno e testo* 5 (2007): 31–98, with fols. 63v *infra*, 123v, 138v, 163v, 168r, 171v, 175v, 179v, 185v, 191r, 195v, 200v, 204r, 207v in the accompanying digital facsimile. The rubrics δόξ(α) and κάθ(ισμα) are in black ink and are not written in the principal scribe's hand. They must have been added before the 780s, when the manuscript was brought to Reichenau from Rome: ibid., p. 69.

52 Only in later manuscripts (after ca. 1300) do the kathismata come to be numbered at their beginning, and this later usage becomes a norm for all printed editions of the Greek Psalter.

53 *Psalter According to the Seventy* (n. 43 above), 293.

54 The rubric ἀντ(ίφωνον) is found in place of δόξ(α) in several ninth-century Greek Psalters, e.g., Sinait. gr. 30 (below, Appendix, no. 1). See also Lampe, s.v. ἀντίφωνος.

55 John Cassian, *De institutis coenobiorum* 2.8 (ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 17:24; SC 109:72); trans. B. Ramsey, *John Cassian: The Institutes* (New York, 2000), 42.

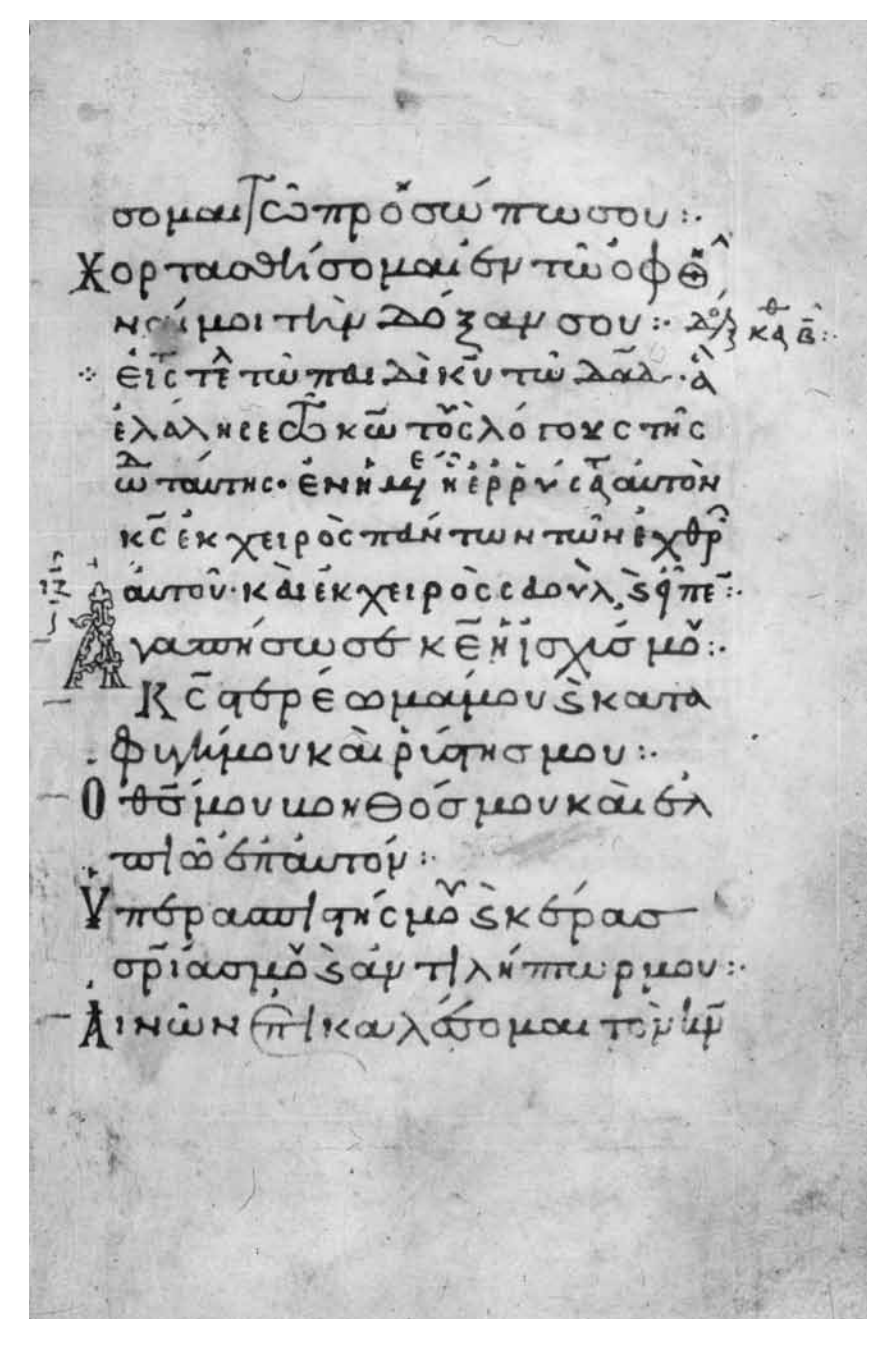


FIGURE 3 Athens, National Library of Greece, MS 3, ca. 1050–1100 CE, fol. 24r (photo Kostas Manolis, published with permission of the National Library of Greece)

On standing, you should stretch out your arms and say once, "God, be merciful to me a sinner." After praying in this way, you should say once more, "O come, let us worship . . ." three times, and then another sub-section of the Psalter in the same way.[56]

Symeon the New Theologian (d. 1022) advises a monk alone in his cell at night to "stand for prayer, quietly recite psalms and pray to God as one who is heard by no one else. Stand with boldness and collect your thoughts and do not allow them to roam elsewhere; join your hands, place your feet evenly together, and stand in one place without moving."[57] Standing for psalmody was common practice,[58] so the rubric "kathisma" marks points at which one may momentarily sit down and pause for prostrations and prayer.[59] Thus, Saint Athanasia of Aegina "would keep solitary vigils and recite the Psalms of David, making a prayer with the greatest attentiveness at each one of the kathismata."[60] Prayers for the kathismata, doubtless transmitted orally among monks and on occasion probably improvised (like Abba Serapion's), first appear recorded in Greek manuscripts around the year 1100,[61] thus forming an extended *Ψαλτήριον σὺν Θεῷ μετὰ τροπαρίων καὶ εὐχῶν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτός* (Psalter, with God, Including Troparia and Prayers for the Day and the Night).[62] In the thirteenth century a certain Sabas, perhaps the

56 Peter Damaskenos, *Admonition Addressed to His Own Soul* (Φιλοκαλία, 3:41); trans. Palmer, Sherrard, and Ware, *Philokalia*, 3:118f. (both n. 14 above)

57 Symeon the New Theologian, *Discourses* 26.12 (ed. B. Krivochéine, SC 113:92), trans. (here slightly modified) C. J. de Catanzaro, *Symeon the New Theologian: The Discourses* (New York, 1980), 282.

58 See e.g., Gregory of Sinai, *On Stillness* 4, 9; *On Prayer* 5 (Φιλοκαλία, 4:73, 75f., 82), trans. Palmer, Sherrard, and Ware, *Philokalia*, 4:266, 269f., 278.

59 This alternation of psalmody and prayer has been practiced since at least the fourth century CE: A. de Vogüé, "Le psaume et l'oraison: Nouveau Florilège," *Ecclesia Orans* 12 (1995): 325–49; Dysinger, *Psalmody* (n. 4 above), 70–103.

60 *BHG* 180 (ed. F. Halkin, SubsHag 174:183): Ἠγρύπνει δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὴν καὶ δαυϊτικοὺς ἐμελέτα ψαλμούς, καθ' ἕνα τῶν καθισμάτων εὐχὴν μετὰ μεγίστης ποιουμένη τῆς νήψεως. Trans. (here modified) L. F. Sherry, in *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed. A.-M. Talbot (Washington, DC, 1996), 146.

61 The earliest witnesses are three closely related Psalters: Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, MS gr. 3, a. 1105; Athos, MS Pantokratoros 43, s. XI ex.; ibid., MS Iveron 22, s. XI ex.; see further: Parpulov, "Byzantine Psalters" (n. 7 above), 118–24. Most of the prayers in these manuscripts are the same as those published from Paris. gr. 331 in Phountoules's *Εἰκοσιτετράωρον Ὡρολόγιον* (n. 38 above), whence some are translated in *Voices in the Wilderness: An Anthology of Patristic Prayers*, ed. N. S. Hatzinikolaou (Brookline, MA, 1988), 3, 15, 37, 70–73, 87, 159–60. The text of the Houghton manuscript will be published with translation and commentary in the series OCA: J. C. Anderson and S. Parenti, *Byzantine Monastic Hours in the Early Twelfth Century* (Rome, in press), non vidi.

62 This is the title (fol. 1r) of the Psalter Sinai, MS gr. 40, s. XII. This, to my knowledge, is the only manuscript where the presence of troparia and prayers for the kathismata is noted in the title.

archbishop of Serbia (d. 1235), translated such a Psalter into Slavic and explained its use in a short preface:

> Our God-bearing and most blessed fathers, the lights of the entire world, terrestrial angels, celestial men, those who were first accustomed by the Holy Spirit to the tradition of asceticism . . . established for us the God-delivered rule of their psalmody, for it was by tender chants that they propitiated the Lord. Some of them sang the Hours with Mid-Hours and prayers, put together select Psalms and prayers, and named this book the Book of Hours. Others recited only the Psalter, without prayers. Yet others, being more zealous, chanted the Psalter together with prayers, penitential *stichera* and the Trisagion with prostrations. The present Psalter is of this kind.[63]

Since hardly any two surviving Psalters of this kind have the same sets of supplementary texts,[64] each manuscript must have been tailored to its owner's individual needs or preferences.[65] In a few, the prayers are formulated in the feminine.[66]

Even before such texts start to be inserted at the kathismata, prayers for general daily use appear at the end of Psalters (e.g., Appendix, no. 2).[67] One also finds there prayers to be said in private before and after communion,[68] penitential

63 The earliest witness of this text is the Bulgarian "Radomir Psalter," Athos, MS Zographou slav. I.д.13, s. XIII, fols. 2r–5v, whence it is edited in *Radomirov Psaltir*, ed. L. Makarijoska (Skopje, 1997), 153; later versions from Russian MSS: B. St. Angelov, "Skazanie o psaltiri," in *Iz starata bulgarska, ruska i srubska literatura*, 3 vols. (Sofia, 1958–78), 3:38–60, esp. 53, 57; commentary: V. M. Lur'e, "Slavianskoe 'Skazanie o Psaltiri' i ego istoriko-liturgicheskoe znachenie," *BSl* 57 (1996): 140–55; on Sabas's authorship: F. J. Thomson, "Medieval Bulgarian and Serbian Theological Literature: An Essential Vademecum," *BZ* 98 (2005): 503–49, esp. 527.

64 There are 316 different prayers in the 36 Psalters I have studied; (incomplete) list and table in Parpulov, "Byzantine Psalters," 306–58, appendix C3.

65 The typographic press brought uniformity to these texts: all three printed Greek Psalters known to me to contain additions for the kathismata (publ. Snagov, 1700; Leipzig, 1761; Venice, 1780) have the same set of troparia and prayers, which in 1906 were reprinted from the Venice edition as Σύντομοι κατανυκτικαὶ προσευχαί (nos. κʹ–λθʹ) in *Μέγα προσευχητάριον περιέχον ἱερὰς προσευχὰς ἐν πάσῃ περιστάσει καὶ ῥήματα ἱερά*, ed. A. D. Simonof, new ed. (Thessalonike, 2001), 511–37. The exact same troparia and prayers are also found in the Psalter MS Sinait. gr. 2132, s. XV ex. The three printed Psalters are listed in Th. I. Papadopoulos, *Ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία (1466 ci.–1800)*, 2 vols., Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν 48 (Athens, 1984–86), nos. 1269, 1290, 1304.

66 E.g., Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. gr. 2, a. 1336; ibid., MS Holkham gr. 1, s. XIV in.

67 The earliest Psalter with such prayers at the end is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.4.1, a. 950, fols. 315v–318v, ed. Parpulov, "Byzantine Psalters," 516–22.

68 Some of these personal communion prayers are now printed in the Book of Hours as part of the Ἀκολουθία τῆς θείας μεταλήψεως: *Great Horologion* (n. 6 above), 787–813. Their earliest witness in Psalters is Jerusalem, MS Taphou 53, a. 1053 (sic), fols. 224r–227r, 231r–v with Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS gr. 266, f. 4r–v. See further Parpulov, "Byzantine Psalters,"

poems,[69] and from the thirteenth century on (e.g., Appendix: no. 3), various hymnographic canons,[70] including the Service of the Akathistos (comprising the eponymous hymn and a special canon).[71] Devout supplications of this kind, in prose or verse, are addressed primarily to Christ or the Mother of God and find their counterpart in a few Byzantine Psalter miniatures. These miniatures are exceptional in that their subject matter does not correspond to the contents of the Psalms but rather reflects the devotional use of the Psalter as a whole. By contrast, the vast majority of Psalter illustrations were intended to divide, embellish, or explain the text and are, thus, linked to the book's contents rather than to its function.[72] The numerous miniatures of the Theodore Psalter (dated 1066), for example, serve primarily as pictorial glosses to the Psalms and just a single one among them, at the very end of the volume, reflects its use.[73] It shows Abbot Michael Stoudites, the book's commissioner and first owner, facing an image of Christ and speaking in dodecasyllables: "I praise you, Savior, having finished the book of your prophet and wise king [David]."[74] Michael has completed the twenty kathismata with the nine matutinal Odes and now says the final doxology.

The simplest form of Psalter illustration is an image of the prophet and wise king David writing, singing, or simply displaying the Book of Psalms (Fig. 4).[75] Such miniatures do not basically differ from author portraits in other Byzantine manuscripts.[76] They are a pictorial equivalent of the book's title (most often Psalter of David [Ψαλτήριον τῷ/τοῦ Δαυῒδ] or some variation

17f., 300–305, appendix C2; S. Alexopoulos and A. van den Hoek, "The Endicott Scroll and Its Place in the History of Private Communion Prayers," *DOP* 60 (2006): 146–88.

69 E.g., Sinai, MS gr. 2123, a. 1242, f. 131v: Κατ' ἀλφάβητον στίχοι τοῦ λογοθέ[του Συμεών] (PG 114:132f.); see also n. 86 below.

70 Parpulov, "Byzantine Psalters," 16f., 359f.; see also no. 3 in the Appendix below.

71 *Great Horologion* (n. 6 above), 733–52.

72 On Byzantine Psalter illustration in general: K. Corrigan, "Salterio: Area bizantina," in *Enciclopedia dell'arte medivale*, 12 vols. (Rome, 1991–2002), 10:289–96, with bibl.

73 London, British Library, Add. ms 19,352, a. 1066, fol. 207v; miniature reproduced and described in S. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des Psautiers grecs du Moyen Age*, vol. 2, *Londres, Add. 19.352* (Paris, 1970), 62, pl. 116 with fig. 325; C. Barber, *Theodore Psalter: Electronic Facsimile* (Champaign, IL, 2000), ad loco (cf. B. Crostini, "Navigando per il Salterio: Riflessioni intorno all'edizione elettronica del Manoscritto Londra, British Library, Addit. 19.352," *BollGrott*, n.s., 56 [2002–3]: 133–209, esp. 191f.); C. Barber, "In the Presence of the Text: A Note on Writing, Speaking and Performing in the Theodore Psalter," in *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*, ed. L. James (Cambridge, 2007), 83–99, esp. 88f.

74 Αἰνῶ σε, Σῶτερ, τερματήσας τὴν βίβλον / τοῦ σοῦ προφήτου καὶ σοφοῦ βασιλέως.

75 Numerous examples in A. Cutler, *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium* (Paris, 1984).

76 On Byzantine evangelist portraits: H. Hunger, "Evangelisten: A. Evangelistenbilder in Handschriften," *RBK* 2:452–84, 505–7.



FIGURE 4 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS grec 169, ca. 1280–1300 CE, fol. 12v (published courtesy of the BnF)

thereupon)[77] and of certain verse epigrams in praise of David.[78] But even such generic imagery is at times affected by the needs of private devotion. There is a unique Psalter frontispiece (dated 1105) in Oxford where the Old Testament king appears anachronistically standing before an icon of the Virgin and chanting, just as the volume's owner once did, from an open Psalter.[79] David is thus depicted not only as author of the book but also as role model for the person actually reading it, who is to utter the Psalms "not as if they were composed by the prophet but as if they were his own utterances and his own prayer."[80] The Oxford manuscript contains at its end a short treatise on the Jesus Prayer, further confirming the book's devotional use.[81]

The inclusion of the viewer/reader is even more explicit in the opening miniature of a Psalter at Harvard (precisely contemporary with the Oxford one).[82] Here, the standard author portrait is reduced to a marginal figure of David as additional intercessor in a Deesis.[83] The book's first owner is shown prostrate to the right of Christ and touching his foot, just as a petitioner at court would touch the emperor's shoe. The miniature thus becomes at once part of the act of prayer (it is Christ's image through which prayers are addressed to Christ himself) and

77 For a list of the titles found in Greek Psalter manuscripts see Parpulov, "Byzantine Psalters" (n. 7 above) 253–55.

78 E.g., the poems that accompany the David portraits in the "Leo Bible" (Vatic. Reg. gr. 1, s. X) and the "Barberini Psalter" (Vatic. Barber. gr. 372, s. XI), reprinted and translated respectively in A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton, 1986), 197f. and P. Finlay, "A Feast for the Senses," in *Metaphrastes, or, Gained in Translation: Essays and Translations in Honour of Robert H. Jordan*, ed. M. Mullett (Belfast, 2004), 248.

79 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Barocci 15, a. 1105, fol. 39v; miniature described and reproduced in Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, 58, 194 with fig. 226; I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften: Oxford, Bodleian Library*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1977–82), 1:55, 179 with fig. 204; 3.1:332.

80 John Cassian, *Collationes patrum* 10.11.4 (ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 13:304; SC 54:92); trans. B. Ramsey, *John Cassian: The Conferences* (New York, 1997), 384.

81 Cod. Barocci 15, fols. 391v–392v, 394r–v: Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὸ *Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς*, ed. R. Sinkewicz, "An Early Byzantine Commentary on the Jesus Prayer: Introduction and Edition," *MedSt* 49 (1987): 208–20, esp. 213, 217–19. On the Jesus Prayer and psalmody: Barsanouphios and John, *Questions and Answers* 175; Gregory of Sinai, *On Prayer* 5.

82 Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, MS gr. 3, a. 1105, fol. 8v; miniature described and reproduced in Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, 35, 160 with fig. 110; I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 1976), 44, fig. 15; L. Nees, "An Illuminated Byzantine Psalter at Harvard University," *DOP* 29 (1975): 205–24, esp. 209–16 with fig. 1; G. Vikan, ed. *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections: An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton, 1973), 128–29 with fig. 56.

83 On the Deesis: I. Zervou Tognazzi, "Deesis. Interpretazione del termine e sua presenza nell'iconografia bizantina," in *Costantinopoli e l'arte delle province orientali*, ed. F. de' Maffei, C. Barsanti, and G. Guidobaldi (Rome, 1990), 391–420; L. A. Shchennikova, "Deisus v vizantiiskom mire. Istoriograficheskii obzor," *Voprosy iskusstvoznaniia* 2–3 (1994): 132–63, with bibl.

a representation of this act. Donor portraits are not found in Psalters alone, but there, in direct proximity to devotional texts, their personal significance is especially marked.[84] The Harvard codex is the first dated manuscript with troparia and prayers for the kathismata.[85] At the end of its Psalter are inserted verses that a certain monk Gregory borrowed, for the most part, from a penitential poem by Symeon the Metaphrast (d. ca. 1000).[86]

Similar use of poetic excerpts is made in an early twelfth-century Psalter now in the Dionysiou Monastery on Athos.[87] There, it is the Metaphrast's contemporary Nikephoros Ouranos (d. after 1007) whose verses are quoted in the margin next to a series of scenes depicting the death and posthumous fate of a monk, evidently the Sabas who is named on folio 244r–v as the manuscript's owner.[88]

84 On donor portraits in Byzantine manuscript illumination: Spatharakis, *Portrait* (n. 82 above), passim.

85 See n. 61 above.

86 Cambridge, MA, MS Houghton gr. 3, f. 232v (after Ode 9): Τοῦ μακαριωτάτου μοναχοῦ κὺρ Γρηγορίου στίχοι· *Ὦ Πάτερ, Υἱέ, Πνεῦμα, Τριὰς ἁγία,* / *Ὅταν καθίσῃς εἰς ἐπηρμένον θρόνον* / *Ὅταν κρίνῃς με τὸν κατακεκριμένον,* / Πάντων ὁρώντων καὶ τρόμῳ πεφρικότων / Μὴ διανοίξῃς βιβλίον συνειδήτον / Μὴ στηλιτεύσῃς τὰς ἐμὰς ἀσωτίας / *Μὴ τοῖς ἐρίφοις τοῖς κεκατηραμένοις,* / *Ἐμὲ συνάψῃς τὸν κεκατηραμένον,* / *Ἀλλὰ προβάτοις τοῖς μεμακαρισμένοις,* / Αἰῶνι τῷ μέλλοντι τῷ σωτηρίῳ. (Verses, by the Most Blessed Monk Sir Gregory: Holy God, the Father, Son, and Spirit, / When you sit on your throne exalted / And my turn for judgment comes before you / (All things looking on in fear and trembling), / Do not open the book of my conscience / And do not announce my grave transgressions, / Do not make me one of the condemned goats [Matt. 25:32], / Sinful that I am and full of error; / Join me to the sheep redeemed and blessed / In the age to come, in your salvation.) The Metaphrast's verses are marked in italics; the full text of his poem is reprinted in Simonof's *Μέγα προσευχητάριον* (n. 65 above), 425–35 (no. λς'), esp. 433, from Nikodemos Hagiorites, ed. *Ἀπάνθισμα διαφόρων κατανυκτικῶν εὐχῶν* (Constantinople, 1799, repr. Thera, 2000), 157–63.

87 Athos, MS Dionysiou 65, s. XII in., fols. 11r–12r; miniatures reproduced and described in S. M. Pelekanidis et al., *The Treasures of Mount Athos: Illuminated Manuscripts*, 4 vols. (Athens, 1974–91), 1:116–17 with color figs. 118–22, 419–20; Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters* (n. 75 above), 103–6, 236–37 with figs. 361–63; G. R. Parpulov, "Miniatiura 'Rai' iz sobraniia Nauchnoi biblioteki Moskovskogo universiteta," in *Deianiia i Poslaniia apostolov: Grecheskaia illiuminovannaia rukopis' 1072 goda*, ed. E. N. Dobrynina (Moscow, 2004), 104–14, esp. 108–11; Ch. Mauropoulou-Tsioume, "Οἱ μικρογραφίες τοῦ Ψαλτηρίου ἀρ. 65 τῆς Μονῆς Διονυσίου," *Κληρονομία* 7 (1975): 131–71; R. Stichel, *Studien zum Verhältnis von Text und Bild spät- und nachbyzantinischer Vergänglichkeitsdarstellungen* (Vienna, 1971), 70–75, pl. 3.

88 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., "Βυζαντινὰ ἀνάλεκτα· Ἀλφάβητος Οὐρανοῦ μαγίστρου," *BZ* 8 (1899): 66–70; emendations: E. Kurtz, "Das paranetische Alphabet des Nikephoros Ouranos," *BZ* 25 (1925): 18; commentary: M. Lauxtermann, *The Spring of Rhythm: An Essay on the Political Verse and Other Byzantine Metres* (Vienna, 1999), 31–35. The excerpts are as follows: (11r, right margin) [Ἰδεῖν οὐκ ἄξιος] εἰμί, [δέσ]π[οτα, πρό]σωπ(όν) σου, ἀλλ[ὰ ζο]φώ[δεις ἄθλιος] ὄψ[ομαι]—φευ—ἰδέας, αἵ μ[οι καὶ] συν[αν]τήσ[ονται καὶ παρα]λήψ[ον]τ[αί με], (11r, lower margin) Μηδ(εὶς) ἐξαπ(α)τ(ά)τ(ω) σε, μηδ(εὶς) π(αρα)μυθήτω, ψυχή· τὸ πῦρ οὐ σβ[έννυ]ται, ὁ σκ(ώ)ληξ οὐ κοιμᾶται, τ(ὴν) σ(ὴν) ἀπεκδεχόμ(εν)α πικρ[ὰν] ἐ[πι]δ[η]μ[ίαν], (11v, left margin) [Κο]λάσ(εις) [τ]ὰς μ[ενο]ύσ(ας) [σε],

The miniatures are mirrored at the end of the book by a long penitential prayer that dwells on death and judgment.[89] Since Ouranos's verses are composed in the first person, the reader/viewer can identify with the person depicted and, through contemplation of death, strive to attain the beatific state illustrated in the last scene and explained by the cryptographic (written from right to left) sentence in the margin below it: "the oil of redemption in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."[90] On the following page (folio 12v) Sabas appears prostrate before the Virgin and the infant Christ.[91]

In other Psalter miniatures the book's praying owner is left, literally, out of the picture and is instead presented with a devotional image for direct contemplation. Whereas Christ in the Dionysiou manuscript turns toward Sabas and blesses him, the Virgin and Child in the small pictorial frontispieces of two Psalters now in Vienna (dated 1076) and Venice (datable ca. 1130) squarely face the viewer.[92] The Venice miniature follows upon a long penitential prayer addressed

ψυχ(ή), [πρ]οα[να]τύπ(ου), [εἰ β]ούλ(ει) [με]τὰ [θάν]ατ(ον) [εὑ]ρεῖ(ν) [μετ]ρι[ωτ]έρ(ας), (11v, lower margin) [Ὅταν] ἐμ(ῶν) εἰς πέλαγο(ς) πονηρῶν ἔργων βλέ(ψω), ἄβυσσος χρη[στότητος τῆς σῆς] ψυχαγωγεῖ με, (12r, right margin) Χειρ(ῶν) εἰμι σῶν ποίημα κ(αὶ) χαρ(α)κτὴρ μορφῆ(ς) σου, (12r, left margin) [Υἱόν με σὺ κατέστησας,] υἱὸ[ν καὶ] κληρο[νό]μον, [ἐγὼ] (δὲ) δ[οῦλος] γέγο[να], πον[ηρός ἀ]ποσ[τάτης], κ(αὶ) δ[όξη]ς ἧς [ἐξέ]πεσ[α, νῦν] ἔγνω[ν τὴν] ζημ[ίαν]. (I am unworthy, O my Lord, to see your face in full light, / So I shall only get, alas, murky ideas of it / That will confront and overwhelm my sinful self completely.) (Let no one, O my soul, delude and let no one console you: / The fire cannot be put out, the worm is never dormant [Mark 9:48] / And bitter are the punishments that lie in store for you, soul.) (Envision in advance, O soul, the trials that await you, / If you desire, after death, to get a moderate treatment.) (Whenever I cast eyes upon the sea of my transgressions / The infiniteness of your mercy, O God, gives me succor.) (I am the work of your hands and likeness of your image.) (You once appointed me your son and heir of your riches / But I became, instead, a slave, a renegade most wicked / And now I am too well aware what glory I forfeited.)

89 *CPG* 4688 (PG 63:923–28), MS Dionysiou 65, fols. 227r–230r, inc. Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου, ὁ μέγας καὶ φοβερὸς καὶ ἔνδοξος, ὁ πάσης ὁρωμένης καὶ νοουμένης κτίσεως δημιουργὸς καὶ δεσπότης, ὁ φυλάσσων τὴν διαθήκην καὶ τὸ ἔλεος σου τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι σε, des. καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀπ᾽ αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων σοι ἁγίων. Ἀμήν. (Lord my God, great, formidable and glorious one, maker and master of all creation visible and invisible, you who keep your covenant and have mercy for those who love you . . . and of all saints who for ages have been well pleasing to you. Amen.)

90 ἔλεον (sic) ἀπολυτρόσεως εἰς τὸ ὄνομα [τοῦ Πατρὸς] κα(ὶ) τοῦ Υἱοῦ κα(ὶ) τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.

91 Spatharakis, *Portrait* (n. 76 above), 49–51, fig. 18; see also n. 87 above.

92 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS theol. gr. 336, a. 1076, fol. 16v; miniature described and reproduced in Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters* (n. 75 above), 89f., 222 with fig. 314, and P. Buberl and H. Gerstinger, *Die Illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, part 4, *Die byzantinischen Handschriften*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1937–38), 2:37, pl. xii.2; color reproduction: O. Mazal, *Byzanz und das Abendland: Ausstellung der Handschriften- und Inkunabelsammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Graz, 1981), fig. 22. Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS gr. II.113 (coll. 565), s. XII, f. 307; miniature described and reproduced in

to the Mother of God through an icon.[93] The Vienna image replaced the text of the Lord's Prayer that the scribe, probably unaware at first that the volume would be illustrated, initially copied on the page and later erased.

Similar devotional images occasionally precede Psalm 78 (77), which opens the eleventh kathisma and thus occupies the middle of the Psalter. Although most painters (or their patrons) choose to illustrate the Psalm with narrative scenes prompted by its first verse "Give ear, O my people, to my law. . ." some preface it with a frontal bust of Christ who is personally, as it were, urging the reader/viewer to follow his commandments (Fig. 5).[94] In the twelfth century the Savior's image also appears in headpieces above Psalm 1.[95] Such images must have formed a visual focus at the initial moment of concentration before reciting the Psalter, when the reader "should immediately address [his] own thoughts and say three

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Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, 88, 221 with fig. 307, and M. Bonicatti, "Un salterio greco miniato del periodo comneno," *Bollettino dell'Archivio paleografico italiano*, n.s., 2–3 (1956–57): 117–28, pls. i–xviii, esp. 117f., pl. i; see also *Oriente cristiano e santità: Figure e storie di santi tra Bisanzio e l'Occidente*, ed. S. Gentile (Venice, 1998), 199–201: cat. 27.

93 Εὐχὴ Λέοντος δεσπότου, MS Marcian. gr. II.113, f. 43r–48v, inc. Παρθένε Δέσποινα Θεοτόκε, ἡ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν Λόγον κατὰ σάρκα γεννήσασα, οἶδα μέν, οἶδα ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν εὐπρεπὲς οὐδὲ ἄξιον ἐμὲ τὸν οὕτω πανάσωτον, εἰκόνα καθαρὰν σοῦ τῆς ἁγνῆς, σοῦ τῆς ἀειπαρθένου, σοῦ τῆς σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν ἐχούσης καθαρὰ καὶ ἀμόλυντα, [ὀφθαλμοῖς μεμολυσμένοις ὁρᾶν καὶ χείλεσιν ἀκαθάρτοις καὶ βεβήλοις περιπτύσσεσθαι ἢ παρακαλεῖν (omit. MS)], des. ἀξιοῦσα με ἐν τῷ παρόντι αἰῶνι ἀκατακρίτως μετασχεῖν τοῦ παναγίου καὶ ἀχράντου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ σου, ἐν δὲ τῷ μέλλοντι, τοῦ οὐρανίου δείπνου τῆς τρυφῆς τοῦ παραδείσου καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἔνθα πάντων ἐστὶν εὐφραινομένων ἡ κατοικία. Ἀμήν. (Prayer of Emperor Leo: Virgin Lady Mother of God who gave birth to the incarnate Word, I know, I know well that it is neither decent nor right for me, who is so utterly prodigal, to see with polluted eyes and to venerate or implore with unclean and profane lips a pure image of you, the chaste ever-virgin pure and undefiled in body and soul . . . deeming me worthy to partake without condemnation in the present age of the most holy and undefiled body and blood of your Son and God and in the age to come, of the celestial supper [prepared] in Paradise and in the Kingdom of Heaven, where the habitation of all who rejoice is. Amen.) The text is almost identical with the one reprinted in Simonof's *Μέγα προσευχητάριον*, new ed., 451–54 (no. λζʹ.8) from St. Nikodemos's *Ἀπάνθισμα* (n. 86 above), 96–99 (trans. *Voices in the Wilderness* [n. 61 above], 187–91), and with K. G. Phrantzolas, ed., *Ὁσίου Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου ἔργα*, 7 vols. (Thessalonike, 1988–98), 6:405–10. A shorter version of this prayer is ascribed to St. Mary of Egypt in her vita, *BHG* 1042 (PG 87:3713C, trans. M. Kouli, in *Holy Women* [n. 60 above], 83).

94 Detailed discussion of such illustrations to Ps. 77: R. S. Nelson, "The Discourse of Icons: Then and Now," *Art History* 12 (1989): 144–57.

95 Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters* (n. 75 above), figs. 47, 89, 137, 267, 300, 340; color reproductions: P. L. Vocotopoulos, *Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts in Jerusalem* (Athens and Jerusalem, 2003), 71 with fig. 30; H. Evans, ed. *Byzantium: Faith and Power 1261–1557* (New York, 2004), 413: cat. 255.

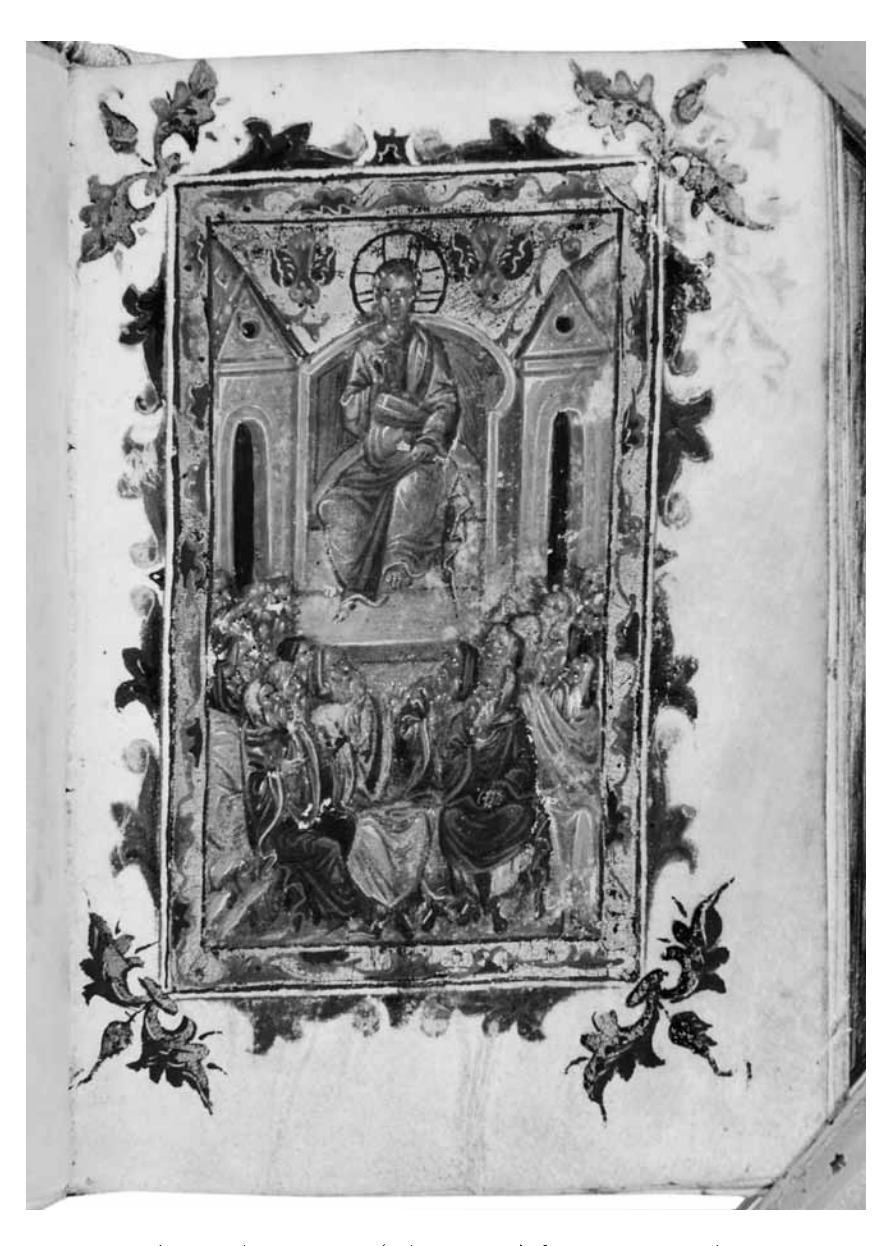


FIGURE 5 Christ in the Synagogue (John 7:14–24), frontispiece to Psalm 77, Turin, Biblioteca Reale, cod. Var. 484, ca. 1400–1450 CE, fol. 59r (published su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali)

times: 'O come, let us worship and fall down before God our King.'"[96] In the earliest known miniature of this kind, Christ speaks the words Moses once heard from the bush that burned but was not consumed: "I am who I am" (Exodus 3:14).[97] Devotional images in Psalters thus prepare the faithful for the higher contemplation that can be described only with the metaphorical language of mysticism: "When through continuous prayer the words of the psalms are brought down into the heart, then the heart like good soil begins to produce by itself various flowers: roses, the vision of incorporeal realities; lilies, the luminosity of corporeal realities; and violets, the many judgments of God, hard to understand."[98]

## APPENDIX
### *The Contents of Three Byzantine Psalters*

Although they all contain the Psalms and Odes (Canticles), there is considerable variety in content among Byzantine Psalter manuscripts. The ones described below are reasonably typical. Number 1 represents a small and uniform group that also includes the famous "Uspensky Psalter" and originates from ninth-century Palestine.[99] The note "καθὼς ψάλλομεν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν Ἀναστάσει" (fol. 368r) shows that the Psalter conforms to Jerusalem usage, but was *not* used in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher itself. Number 2 is among the first witnesses to the set of prognostic sentences associated with the Psalms (fols. 2r–3r). The predictions these sentences contain point to a courtly milieu and thus to a probably Constantinopolitan origin for the manuscript. The *Typika*

96 Peter Damaskenos (n. 33 above).

97 New York, NYPL, MS Spencer gr. 1, s. XII ineunte (sic), fol. 2r: Ἐγὼ [εἰ]μὴ (sic) ὁ ὤν. Miniature reproduced and described in Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, 56, 188 with fig. 206 and idem, "The Spencer Psalter: A Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Manuscript in the New York Public Library," *CahArch* 23 (1974): 129–59, esp. 130f.; repr. (with an addendum) in Cutler, *Imagery and Ideology in Byzantine Art* (Brookfield, 1992), no. i. Cutler identifies the text as Jn 8:12. Description of the MS: N. F. Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Catalogue of Greek Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Collections of the United States of America. Part II: New York Public Library," *Manuscripta* 50 (2006): 21–76, esp. 51–55.

98 Elias Ekdikos (n. 34 above).

99 Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, MS gr. 216, a. 878: Amfilokhii, "Opisanie Grecheskoi Psaltiri 862 goda iz sobraniia rukopisei Preosv. Porfiriia," *Chteniia v Obshchetsvie liubitelei dukhovnago prosvieshcheniia* (1873): 1–8 with pls. 1–2; repr. in id., *Paleograficheskoe opisanie grecheskikh rukopisei opredelennykh let*, 4 vols. (Moscow, 1879–80), 1:9–11; *Paleograficheskie snimki s nekotorykh grecheskikh, latinskikh i slavianskikh rukopisei Imperatorskoi Publichnoi bibliotheki* (Saint Petersburg, 1914), 3, with bibl. On the MS's date: D. A. Morozov, "Aleksandriiskaia era v Ierusalime IX v.: K datirovke Porfir'evskoi psaltyri," *Montfaucon* 1 (2007), 89–93, esp. 92. See also Parpulov, "Byzantine Psalters" (n. 7 above), 56–64.

(fols. 83v–84v), texts recited or sung by the people during the Holy Liturgy, were, until circa 1100, often appended to Psalters.[100] The inelegant script and poor-quality parchment characterize number 3 as a provincial product. Made for a monk, it represents the hymnography often appended to Psalters in the Palaeologan period. Canonical Hours, *canons*, the Service of the Akathistos, and New Testament readings like the ones found in this manuscript, together with the Psalter and the Jesus Prayer, form the personal devotional *cursus* described by Philotheos Kokkinos.[101]

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**1.** Mount Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, MS gr. 30, Palestine, s. IX, parchment, 431 fols. (fols. 1–48 and 404ff added), 180 × 123 mm, linn. 20:[102]

(49r–50v) **Τὸ σύμβολον τῆς ζωοποιοῦ ὀρθοδοξίας ἐκ πν(εύματο)ς τοῦ παναγίου·** Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θ(εό)ν, etc. (50v) Verses: Τῶν τεττάρων πέφυκε τοῦτο σύμβολον· Ἄθροισμα τῶν θείων τε καὶ θεηγόρων· Τοῖς ὀρθοδόξοις εὐαγῶς βεβλυσμένον.[103] (50v–51r) **Προσευχὴ διδασκάλημα τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ·** Πάτερ ἡμῶν, etc. (51r) Verses: Προσευκτικὸν δίδαγμα τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ λόγου· Ὁ τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐκπεπαίδευκε φίλους· Περιττότη τῶν ἀστάτων ὑπέρτατον· Πολυπλόκων λόγων τε βαττολεξίας· Ἐν ᾧ κέκρυπται μυστικῶν διδαγμάτων· Ἅπαν νόημα καὶ θεουργίας λόγος· Ζωῆς παρούσης καὶ χρόνων αἰωνίων. (52r–54r) **Παμφίλου ὑπόθεσις εἰς τὸ ψαλτήριον·** Τῆς βίβλου τῶν ψαλμῶν ἤδη [*sic*] ἂν εἴη ἡ διαίρεσις . . . οὐ μὴν δηλοῦσιν τίνος εἰσίν· ἀνεπίγραφοι ιθʹ, ἐπιγεγραμμένοι ρλαʹ, ὁμοῦ ψαλμοὶ ρνʹ καὶ ἰδιόγραφος αʹ [PG 23:66C–68A]. (54r–55r) **Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰω(άννου) τ(οῦ) Χρυσοστόμ(ου) ἐκ τ(οῦ) λόγ(ου) τοῦ περὶ ὑπομονῆ(ς) καὶ εἰς τὴν τ(ῶν) γραφῶν μελέτ(ην)·** Ἀγαπητέ, ὅταν ἀναγινώσκεις ἐπιμελῶς ἀναγίνωσκε . . . καὶ δηλώσῃ σου τῇ δυνάμῃ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ, ὅτι αὐτῷ πρέπει δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν [PG 63:940].[104] (55r) **Ἴαμβοι·** Θείου νοητοὺς ἄνθρακα [*sic*] πυρὸς φέρω· . . . Ψαλμῶν γὰρ εἰμὶ βίβλος οἷς κεχρημένος.[105]

100 Ibid., 17f., 400, appendix C1.

101 Ibid., 495–505; Rigo, *L'amore della quiete* (n. 7 above), 175–80.

102 Washington, DC, Library of Congress, microfilm 5010/30; see also K. Weitzmann and G. Galavaris, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1990–), 1:15f., pl. x.; M. P. Brown, ed., *In the Beginning: Bibles before the Year 1000* (Washington, DC, 2006), 194–95, 285–86: cat. 47.

103 These and the following verses are listed with bibl. in I. Vassis, *Initia carminum byzantinorum* (Berlin–New York, 2005).

104 This excerpt from *CPG* 4693 consists mainly of a prayer to be said before reading (or listening to someone read) from Scripture: Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ἄνοιξον τὰ ὦτα καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας μου τοῦ ἀκοῦσαί με τὸν λόγον σου, καὶ συνιέναι, καὶ ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημά σου, etc.

105 Our scribe copied this poem without its last verse; see the full text in A. Ludwich, "Ein neuer Beitrag zur Charakteristik des Jakob Diassorinos," *BZ* 1 (1894): 293–302, esp. 298.

55v is blank. (56r–367v) **Ψαλτήριον·** Psalms 1–150. (367v) Verses: Ἐνταῦθα μέχρις ἐστὶ τὸ ψαλτήριο(ν)· Ἀλλ᾽ εὐλογεῖτο πάσα σὰρξ τὸν κ(ύριο)ν· Τὸν ἐνπνέοντα τοῖς προφήταις τὴ(ν) χάρι(ν). (367v–368r) Stichometric note: Ἔχουσι νοῦν οἱ ρν′ ψαλμοὶ καθὼς ὑποτέκται στί(χους) ͵δψπ′ οὗτος [*sic*]· . . . ὡς πρόκειται στί(χοι) ͵δψπ′, καθὼς ψάλλομεν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Χ(ριστο)ῦ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ ἡμῶν Ἀναστ(άσει). (368r–369r) **Οὗτος ὁ ψαλμὸς ἰδιόγραφος ἐστὶν τοῦ Δα(υΐ)δ κ(αὶ) ἔξοθεν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ·** Psalm 151. (369v–395v) Odes 1–9.[106] (395v–396r) **[Εὐχ]ὴ Συμεὼν τ(οῦ) δικαίου·** Luke 2:29–32. (396r) Stichometric note: Τῶν ὕμνων καὶ τ(ῶν) ᾠδῶν στίχ(οι) σιη′· ᾠδῶν στίχ(οι) ρνδ′, ὕμνων στίχ(οι) νδ′,[107] ὡς εἶναι τοὺς πάντ(ας) στίχ(οι) ͵ε. (396r–v) **Ὕμνος ἑσπερινός·** Φῶς ἱλαρὸν, etc. (396v–398r) **Ὕμνος ἑωθινός·** Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις, etc. (398r–399r) **Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖο(ν) ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου·** Matt. 5:3–12. (399r–400v) **Προφητ(εία) Ἠσαίου·** Μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν ὁ Θ(εό)ς, etc.[108] (400v–403v) **Εὐχὴ Μανάσση·** Κ(ύρι)ε παντοκράτωρ, etc.

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**2.** Washington DC, Dumbarton Oaks Museum, MS 3, Constantinople, a. 1083, parchment, 364 fols. (fols. 4, 78, 86–87, 187, 187bis, 254 removed; fols. 341–62 added), 162 × 109 mm, linn. 36:[109]

(2r) **Ἀποκάλυψις ἀληθὴς ἐνθυμήσεων ἐὰν μετὰ πίστεως πράττηται·** Ἐὰν ἔννοιαν ἔχῃς τὴν οἱανοῦν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου εἰ ὀφείλεις πρᾶγμα ἐπιχειρῆσαι, νῆστις ἀνάπτυσσε τὸ ψαλτήριον . . . κ(αὶ) εἴ τι γράφει ἔχε αὐτὸ ἐν πληροφορίᾳ, μόνον ἐκ πίστεως προσέρχου.[110] (2r–3r) **Ἑρμ(ηνείαι) εἰς τοὺς ψαλμοὺς· α′ Ὡς** Ἰωσὴφ ἠξιώθης χάριτος διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς . . . **ρν′ Π**ρᾶγμα μετ᾽ ὀλίγον πληρούμενον.[111] (3v) Paschal table: Ἔτ(ος) ͵ςφϟβ′ τ(ῆς) ζ′ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος), κύ(κλοι) (ἡλίου) ιβ′, κύ(κλοι) (σελήνης) ιη′, ἡ ἀπόκ(ρεως) φε(βρουαρίου) δ′, νο(μικὸν) π(ά)σχ(α) μ(α)ρτ(ίου) κε′ ἡμέ(ρα) ε′, χριστιανὸν [*sic*] πάσχα μαρτίου λα′. Etc. (4r–5v) Miniatures. (6r–71r) **Δαυῒδ τὸ πρῶτον ἆσμα τ(ῶ)ν ψαλμ(ῶν) βάσις·** Psalms 1–151. (72r–81r) Odes 1–9. (81v–82r)

106 The Odes are numbered *α′-ι′* in the manuscript, since Ode 9 is divided into its two constituent parts, Lk 1:47–55 and Lk 1:68–79. Cf. A. Rahlfs, ed., *Psalmi cum Odis*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen, 1967), 341–59, or any printed edition of the Greek Horologion.

107 Either I misread the digits from the microfilm or the arithmetic here is faulty.

108 See Compline in any printed Greek *Horologion*.

109 See also S. P. Lambros, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους ἑλληνικῶν κοδίκων*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1895–1900), 98: cat. 1083; S. Der Nersessian, "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP* 19 (1965): 153–83; Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters* (n. 75 above), 91–98, 224–30; N. Kavrus-Hoffmann, "Greek Manuscripts at Dumbarton Oaks: Codicological and Paleographic Description and Analysis," *DOP* 50 (1996): 289–307, esp. 296–302.

110 Parpulov, ed., "Byzantine Psalters" (n. 7 above), 508.

111 Ibid., 508–15. See also n. 47 above.

**Τὸν Ἐζεκίαν εὐλογοῦντά μοι σκόπει·** Isa. 38:10–20. (82v–83v) **Σωθεὶς Μαν(άσ)σῃ τὸν Θ(εὸ)ν μεγαλύνει·** Κ(ύρι)ε παντοκράτορ, etc. (83v) **Ὕμνος ἑωθινός·** Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις, etc. **Τυπικὰ τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας·** Ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς κ(αὶ) λόγος τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ, etc. (83v–84r) **Ὁ μυστικὸς ὕμνος·** Οἱ τὰ χερουβίμ, etc. (84r) Πληρωθήτω τὸ στόμα ἡμῶν, etc. **Ἔκθεσις πίστεως τῶν τιη′ ἁγίων π(ατέ)ρων τ(ῆς) ἐν Νικαίᾳ·** Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θ(εό)ν, etc. (84v) **Διδασκαλία τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ ἡμ(ῶν) Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ περὶ προσευχῆς ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγελίου·** Π(άτ)ερ ἡμῶν, etc. **Εἰς τὰ προηγιασμένα·** Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις, etc. **Ἀντὶ τοῦ *Πληρωθήτω*·** Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Χ(ριστ)ὲ ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἠξίωσας, etc. **Ὕμνος λυχνικὸς ὁ κατὰ συνήθειαν·** Φῶς ἱλαρόν, etc. **Προσευχὴ Συμεὼν τοῦ πρεσβύτου·** Luke 2:29–32. (84v–85r) **Μακαρισμοὶ ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον·** Matt. 5:3–12.[112] (85v) **Εὐχαὶ λεγομέναι εἰς καθ᾿ ἑκάστην ὥραν τ(ῆς) νυκτὸ(ς) κ(αὶ) τ(ῆς) ἡμέ(ρας)· α′ K**(ύρι)ε, μὴ ὑστερήσῃς με τῶν ἐπου(ρα)νίων σου ἀγαθῶν. . . . **ιβ′ K**(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς τοῦ οὐ(ρα)νοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, μνήσθητι μου τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ὅτ᾿ ἂν ἔλθῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου, πρεσβείαις τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θ(εοτό)κου, τῶν ἁγίων καὶ νοερῶν σου δυνάμεων, τοῦ τιμίου προδρόμου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου, τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων ἀποστόλων, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἀπ᾿ αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων, ὅτι εὐλογητὸς εἶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.[113] **Εὐχὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἐφραίμ·** Δόξα τῷ Π(ατ)ρὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι ἡμᾶς, καὶ δόξα τ(ῷ) Υἱῷ τῷ σώσαντι ἡμᾶς, καὶ δόξα τῷ ἀνακαινίσαντι ἡμᾶς παναγίῳ Πν(εύματ)ι εἰς τοὺς συμπάντα [*sic*] αἰώνας. Ἀμήν.[114]

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**3.** Ohrid, Naroden muzej, MS gr. 20, Eastern Mediterranean, s. XIII ex.–XIV in., 232 fols. (paginated), 230 × 150 mm, linn. 23–36:[115]

(1–225) **Δα(υΐ)δ προφή(του) κ(αὶ) βασιλέ(ως) μέλο(ς)·** Psalms 1–151. (225–48) Odes 1–9. (249–91) **Ἀκολουθ(ία) τ(οῦ) Ἀκαθίστου.**[116] (292–311) **Ἀρχ(ὴ) σὺν**

112 Fols. 84v–85r are reproduced in *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era*, ed. W. D. Wixom and H. C. Evans (New York, 1997), 190.
113 Nos. 1–11 are edited in Saint Nikodemos's *Ἀπάνθισμα* (n. 86 above), 185; reprinted in Phountoules, *Εἰκοσιτετράωρον Ὡρολόγιον* (n. 38 above), 93f.
114 From *CPG* 3909, Ephraem the Syrian, *Ascetic Sermon*, ed. Phrantzolas, *Ἐφραίμ τοῦ Σύρου ἔργα* (n. 93 above), 1:184.
115 See also V. Mošin, "Les manuscrits du Musée national d'Ochrida," in *Ohrid: Recueil de travaux*, ed. D. Koco (Ohrid, 1961), 163–243, esp. 198f. I was not shown the manuscript in Ohrid and sincerely thank Prof. George Mitrevski of Auburn University for sending me a digitized microfilm thereof.
116 See any printed edition of the Greek Horologion.

**Θ(ε)ῷ τοῦ Ὡρολογίου·** Nocturns, Matins, Prime, Terce, Sext (with the respective Mid-Hours), Τυπικά, None (with Mid-Hour), Vespers, and Compline. The Mid-Hours are to be sung in the cell, e.g., p. 279: ἐν τοῖς κελί(οις) [*sic*] ψάλλομεν τῆς α' ὥρας τὸ με(σώ)ρ(ιον). (311–15) **Κα(νὼν) εἰς τ(ὴν) ὑπ(ερα)γ(ίαν) Θ(εοτό)κον·** Πολλοῖς συνεχόμενος, etc.[117] (316–67) **Ἀρχ(ὴ) σὺν Θ(ε)ῷ, τὸ μηνολόγ(ιον) τοῦ ὅλ(ου) ἐνιαυτοῦ·** list of the fixed church feasts with their propers. (367–72) Propers for the Sundays of the movable cycle. (373–401) **Ἀρχ(ὴ) τ(ῶν) μακαρισμ(ῶν) τ(ῶν) η' ἤχ(ων)·** Διὰ βρώσεως ἐξήγαγεν, etc.[118] (401–4) **Τῇ κυρ(ιακῇ) ἑσπ(έρας)·** *stichera* Ἀσώματοι ἄγγελοι, etc.; *kanon* Θρόνῳ παριστάμενοι φαιδρῶς, etc. (404–7) **Τῇ β' ἑσπ(έρας)·** *stichera* Τὴν ἀμαυρωθεῖσαν μου ψυχήν, etc.; *kanon* Βαπτιστὰ καὶ πρόδρομ(ε) Χ(ριστο)ῦ, etc. (407–11) **Τῇ γ' ἑσπ(έρας)·** *stichera* Ἀνάστηθι καὶ πρόφθασον, etc.; *kanon* Πῶς μου θρηνήσω τὸν βίον τὸν ῥυπαρ(όν), etc. (411–19) **Τῇ δ' ἑσπ(έρας)·** *stichera* Στερωτάτῳ [*sic*] φρονήματι, etc.; *kanon* Διηνεκῶς τῷ θείῳ θρόνῳ, etc. (419–23) **Τῇ ε' ἑσπέρ(ας)·** *stichera* Στ(αυ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἀνυψούμενο(ς), etc.; *kanon* Στ(αυ)ρῷ διεπέτασας, etc. (423–27) **Τῇ παρα(σκευ)ῇ ἑσπ(έρας)·** *stichera* Ὄντως φοβερώτατον, etc.; *kanon* Φαιδρύνεται ἀεὶ ἡ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἐκκλησία, etc. (427–35) **Τῷ σα(ββάτῳ) ἑσπ(έρας)·** *stichera* Ἑσπεριν(ὸν) ὕμνον (καὶ) λογικ(ὴν) λατρείαν, etc.; *kanon* Τὴν παντοδύναμον, etc. (435–42) **Ἀποστ(ο)λ(ο)ευα(γγέλια) τ(ῆς) ἑυδ(ομάδος). Τῇ κυριακῇ·** 2 Cor. 6:16–7:1, Lk. 5:1–11, **Τῇ β' τ(ῶν) ἀσωμ(ά)τ(ων)·** Heb. 2:2–10, Lk. 10:16–21, **Τῇ γ' τοῦ Προδρ(όμου)·** Acts 19:1–8, John 1:29–34, **Τῇ δ' εἰς τ(ὴν) ὑπ(ερα)γ(ίαν) Θ(εοτό)κον·** Phil. 2:5–11, Lk. 10:38–42, **Τῇ ε' τ(ῶν) ἁγ(ίων) ἀπο(στόλων)·** 1 Cor. 4:9–16, Matt. 10:1–8, **Τῇ παρα(σκευ)ῇ στ(αυ)ρώ(σι)μο(ς)·** Gal. 6:11–18, John 19:25–35, **Τῷ σα(ββάτῳ) εἰς κοιμηθέντ(ας)·** 1 Thess. 4:13–17, John 6:35–39. (442–44) **Κα(νὼν) κ(α)τ(α)νυκ(τικ)ὸ(ς) ψαλλόμ(εν)ο(ς) καθ᾽ ἑσπέραν·** *Τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἡμέραν, etc. (444–47) **Ἕτε(ρος) κα(νὼν) τ(ῆς) ὑπ(ερα)γ(ίας) Θ(εοτό)κου ψαλλόμ(ενος) ἐν συμφορᾷ κ(αὶ) θλίψει κ(αὶ) πειρασμῷ κ(αὶ) κινδύνῳ·** *Προσδέχου τ(ὴν) ἐκ ψυχῆς παράκλησ(ιν), etc. (447–50) **Καν(ὼν) εἰς τ(ὸν) κ(ύριο)ν ἡμ(ῶν) Ἰ(ησοῦ)ν Χ(ριστὸ)ν περὶ νήψε(ως)·** Ἰ(ησο)ῦ γλυκύτατε Χ(ριστ)έ, etc. (450–53) **Καν(ὼν) εἰς τ(ὸν) κ(ύριο)ν ἡμ(ῶν) Ἰ(ησοῦ)ν Χ(ριστὸ)ν κ(αὶ) εἰς τ(ὴν) ὑπ(ερα)γ(ίαν) Θ(εοτό)κον κ(αὶ) εἰς τ(ὸν) ἅγ(ιον) Νικόλ(αον) καὶ εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους·** Μὴ ἀπόσει με, etc. (453–59) **Τοῦ ὁσ(ίου) π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ἡμ(ῶν) Συμεῶν μ(ητ)ροπολί(του) Εὐχαΐτων ἐπιστολ(ὴ) πρὸ(ς) Ἰω(άννην) μοναχὸν καὶ ἔγκλειστον, αὕτη (δὲ) ἁρμόζει παντὶ μοναχῷ κελιώτῃ** [*sic*]**·** Ἐδεξάμην σου,

117 This hymn and all the following ones (except those marked with an asterisk) are listed with bibliography in Follieri's *Initia hymnorum* (n. 3 above).
118 Fifty-six sets (eight musical modes for each of the seven days of the week) of eight troparia each: see any printed edition of the Greek Parakletike.

πάτερ πνευματικέ, τὴν θεοφιλεῖ ταύτην γραφὴν καὶ ἀποδεξάμην τὴν κατὰ Θεόν σου ταπείνωσιν . . . καὶ ἐνισχύσει σε εἰς τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ. Ἀμήν.[119] (459–62) **Ἀπὸ τὸ Γεροντικ(ὸν) ἀποφθέγματα·** Διηγήσατο ἡμῖν ὁ ἀββᾶς Παῦλος ὁ Καππαδόξ, etc. [BHG 1445n].[120] Διηγήσατο ἡμῖν ὁ ἀββᾶς Θεόδωρο(ς) ὁ Βυζαντεῦς, etc. [BHG 1445nb].

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119 K. Mitsakis, ed., "Symeon Metropolitan of Euchaita and the Byzantine Ascetic Ideals in the Eleventh Century," *Βυζαντινά* 2 (1970): 301–34, esp. 319–32; cf. M. Grünbart, *Epistularum byzantinarum initia* (Hildesheim, 2001), 65.

120 Cf. the partial English trans. in R. Taft, "Cathedral vs. Monastic Liturgy in the Christian East: Vindicating a Distinction," *BollGrott* 3rd ser., 2 (2005): 173–219, esp. 190–92. It is strange to find this text, which censures singing as spiritually harmful (μακρὰν οὖν ὀφείλει εἶναι τὸ ᾆσμα ἀπὸ τοῦ μοναχοῦ τοῦ θέλοντος σωθῆναι), next to numerous pieces of hymnography.

# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| *AB* | *Analecta Bollandiana* |
| AbhGött, Philol.-hist.Kl. | Akademie der Wissenschaften, Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Abhandlungen |
| *ACO* | *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwartz and J. Straub (Berlin, 1914–) |
| *AnnalesESC* | *Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations* |
| *AnzWien* | *Anzeiger der [Österreichischen] Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien*, Philosophisch-historische Klasse |
| *AP* | *Apophthegmata patrum* |
| *ArtB* | *Art Bulletin* |
| BBTT | Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations |
| *BBulg* | *Byzantinobulgarica* |
| *BHG* | *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, 3rd ed., ed. F. Halkin, SubsHag 47 (Brussels, 1957; repr. 1969) |
| *BMFD* | *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' "Typika" and Testaments*, ed. J. Thomas and A. C. Hero (Washington, DC, 2000) |
| *BMGS* | *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* |
| *BollGrott* | *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* |
| *BZ* | *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* |
| *CahArch* | *Cahiers archéologiques* |
| CCSG | Corpus christianorum, Series graeca |
| CFHB | Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae |

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|---|---|
| *CPG* | *Clavis patrum graecorum*, ed. M. Geerard and F. Glorie (Turnhout, 1974–87) |
| CSEL | Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum |
| *CTh* | *Theodosiani libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis et leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes*, ed. Th. Mommsen and P. M. Meyer (Berlin, 1905) |
| *DOP* | *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* |
| DOS | Dumbarton Oaks Studies |
| *DSp* | *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique* |
| *ΔΧΑΕ* | *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἑταιρείας* |
| *EHR* | *English Historical Review* |
| *Ἐκκ.Φάρ.* | *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴς Φάρος* |
| *EI*[2] | *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden–London, 1960–) |
| *FM* | *Fontes minores* |
| *GBA* | *Gazette des beaux-arts* |
| GCS | Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte |
| *HTR* | *Harvard Theological Review* |
| *IM* | *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* |
| *JEChrSt* | *Journal of Early Christian Studies* |
| *JHS* | *Journal of Hellenic Studies* |
| *JÖB* | *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* [note: before 1969, *JÖBG*] |
| *JÖBG* | *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* [note: after 1968, *JÖB*] |
| *JSAH* | *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* |
| *JTS* | *Journal of Theological Studies* |
| *JWarb* | *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* |
| Lampe | G. W. H. Lampe, ed., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961) |
| LXX | Septuagint |
| Mansi | J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Paris–Leipzig, 1901–27) |
| *MedSt* | *Mediaeval Studies*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies |
| MGH, Auct. Ant. | Monumenta Germaniae historica, Auctores antiquissimi |
| MGH Poetae | Monumenta Germaniae historica, Poetae latini medii aevi |
| *NachrGött* | *Nachrichten von der Akademie [Gesellschaft] der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Philologisch-historische Klasse |
| *NETS* | *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* |

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| *OCA* | *Orientalia christiana analecta* |
| *OCP* | *Orientalia christiana periodica* |
| *ODB* | *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. Kazhdan et al. (New York–Oxford, 1991) |
| *OHBS* | E. Jeffreys, J. Haldon, and R. Cormack, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 2008) |
| PG | Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1857–66) |
| *PW* | *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classisichen Altertumwissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa (Leipzig, 1893–) |
| *RAC* | *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* |
| *RBK* | *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, ed. K. Wessel (Stuttgart, 1963–) |
| *REB* | *Revue des études byzantines* |
| *RESEE* | *Revue des études sud-est européennes* |
| *RSBN* | *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* |
| RSV | Revised Standard Version |
| SC | Sources chrétiennes |
| *Settimane* | *Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* |
| *StP* | *Studia patristica* |
| SubsHag | Subsidia hagiographica |
| TLG | Thesaurus Linguae Graecae |
| *TM* | *Travaux et mémoires* |
| TU | Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur (Leipzig–Berlin, 1882–) |
| *VChr* | *Vigiliae christianae* |
| *VizVrem* | *Vizantiiskii vremennik* |
| WByzSt | Wiener byzantinistische Studien |
| *ZhMNP* | *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia* |
| *ZRVI* | *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta, Srpska akademija nauka* |